CHAPTER III

THE IDEOLOGY OF INTERTRIBAL EXCHANGE

1. *Experiences with the Exchange System*

Many authors have been fascinated by Melanesian ideas of reciprocity and 121
exchange. Malinowski was the first to show in detail that these ideas are a central theme in Melanesian cultures; his lead was followed by Bateson, Belshaw, Burridge, van der Leeden, Pouwer, Reay, Sahlins, Salisbury, Strathern, Wagner, Young and many others. The literature on Orokaiva exchange, however, is less comprehensive than for some other parts of Melanesia. Williams, the principal ethnographer, has written a great deal on reciprocity and marriage exchange among Papuan groups, but this was mostly in his later works (1934, 1936, etc.), which do not deal with the Orokaiva. Some phenomena, as he records in his later ethnographies, might in some instances just as well have been found among the Orokaiva, and here it will be my role to fill in the record. Very recently, Waddell and Krinks (1968) have collected detailed statistical data on Orokaiva exchange. Valuable as this material is, it is concerned with economic geography rather than social organization and ideology.

All ethnographers who have worked among the Orokaiva seem to be well 431
aware of the importance of the exchange system. Whenever I met one he soon 123
came up with the key question: 'How did you get on with *hoija*?', *hoija* being an Orokaiva word meaning 'exchange between non-kin'. Fieldwork in any area probably has its tensions; among the Orokaiva the initial distrust of, perhaps the hostility towards, the fieldworker finds its expression in the rather aggressive offering of (sometimes unwanted) gifts and services, followed immediately by peremptory demands or ceaseless wheedling for return prestations. Every fieldworker thinks of some 'solution' to this problem: accepting everything (because according to Mauss the acceptance of gifts is obligatory), accepting just a little from everyone, accepting prestations from only a carefully defined and limited group, or maybe accepting nothing, though I cannot imagine this. What all these anthropologists are talking about, though from a purely practical rather than a theoretical viewpoint, is how they should behave as exchange partners, given their own peculiar status. It should be a comfort to them that Firth has recently (1967) challenged Mauss' proposition that the acceptance of gifts among primitives is obligatory. They will now probably have fewer uneaten potatoes and German taro lying on their verandahs!

In all the villages I visited events followed the same kind of sequence. I always received an effusive welcome and many gifts for which no return was asked. This

431 123 phase would last about two days. Villages where I made very brief visits never passed beyond that stage, thus remaining in my memory as exceptionally endearing in their generosity. Before I understood the system, I harboured romantic notions of going to live in these villages. In the second phase there would be frantic *hoija*. Everyone brought gifts, asked for tobacco, salt, kerosene, and rides in the car. People appeared to be most hurt when I would not drive into Popondetta every day, and take the whole village with me. Whenever I was offered any gifts or service during this period there would be an immediate demand for some desired benefit.

436 123 After some weeks, this rather aggressive barrage diminished. I found myself with a number of regular exchange partners who brought me what it was presumed I needed and who asked me for more or less standard return benefits. 431 Two sorts of partnership developed: one type of partner expected a return gift immediately upon bringing me his own; the second type made gifts for which he asked nothing – they were represented as gestures of pure affection. Yet in the future an occasion would arise when I would be asked for, or would spontaneously offer, something in return. But this second type of partnership was far more similar to the kind of gift exchange the village people had among their fellow villagers or close associates. As more and more people shifted from the first to the second type of partnership, I could see something like a genuine exchange network building up. People trusted me enough to allow me to be in their debt for a while. I was thus approaching the stage when I would be regarded as a desirable exhange partner, or, to put it in Orokaiva terms, as a man of some moral virtue. It seemed to me that it was on my behaviour as an exchange partner that my status would ultimately depend.

431 Most of the significant events in which the village was involved were also concerned with exchange. While marriages, deaths, feasts and initiations were all occasions for ritual and magic, the gifts always loomed largest in everyone's interests. It would usually take at least a year, but often far longer, to accumulate the gifts needed for such occasions. During this period members of the family, local clan branch or village (whichever was the donating group) would be constantly on the lookout for money or gift objects that could be stored up. People would go looking for jobs. They would keep unused some [628] clothing they had been given by a relative. Whenever a visit outside the village was contemplated, an essential part of the preparations was the getting together [574] of the gifts that would have to be taken. Or when a visitor arrived, there was stealthy activity in the background to prepare the gifts without which he would not be allowed to leave. The size of the gifts would always be carefully planned, in accordance with the importance of the visit, the extent to which it was thought politic to do homage, and the availability of supplies. But the making of the gift would always be done in so casual a manner that one might easily believe it was totally spontaneous.

This manner must be affectionate and humble. But the wise man, in making a gift, puts his partner in his debt as much as possible without suffering undue expense, while at the same time enhancing his own status. At a later time, he will use his status as creditor to the best advantage. His concern is to foster a social relationship while at the same time seeking the acquisition of some scarce resource. Social and economic ends are pursued simultaneously. Thus Melanesian

gift exchange differs to some extent from the Western exchange of Christmas 431
presents with which it is sometimes compared. In the former, as opposed to the latter system, the acquisition of desired scarce resources is a most important consideration; the fostering of social relationships is equally important in both systems.

Westerners often criticise Melanesians for being too grasping and mean in gift 431
exchange. Absurd though this criticism may seem, it arises from a real cultural
difference: Westerners depend on institutions other than gift exchange for the 436
acquisition of desired scarce resources. Hence the institution of exchanging Christmas presents need serve no other end but the fostering of social relations. For the Melanesians, with a rudimentary market system, gift exchange must serve economic as well as social ends. This lack of differentiation leads to the necessary consequence that social exchange is rarely effective unless prestations of economic value are exchanged between the partners and both sides are satisfied with what they receive.

Orokaiva regard exchange relations as the *causa efficiens* of social relations; 431
they cannot envisage any significant social relations in the absence of exchange 436
relations and they ascribe all breakdowns in social relations to an antecedent
breakdown in exchange relations. They support this view with cogent and 829
sophisticated arguments, which will be presented throughout this work. Here, I shall quote only a few examples of their reasoning so as to give it some *a priori* plausibility.

One evening a women's dance practice was interrupted by an angry man 581
calling his wife to come home. It turned out that his son's wife, who lived with 586
the couple, had run off and returned to her village. The immediate cause of this
escape was clear: he had tried to seduce her. He considered himself entirely 627
justified in doing so as the young woman belonged to his son. To which his wife retorted that the son was hers also. The loss of the young woman, for whom bride price had been paid and whom the son would certainly expect to be reserved for him, was very serious and led to a meeting involving his clan, his wife's clan and the son's wife's clan. This meant that all of Sivepe was there, as well as a number of people from neighbouring Sasembata, the son's wife's village. A councillor was invited to adjudicate. The Sasembata people's arguments were interesting but not relevant here. The meeting was mainly concerned with what was regarded as the key problem: the conflict between the older couple. Their marriage had been unhappy for some years. The wife had been away to Port Moresby for a long time; when she returned the husband had gone away, also to Port Moresby. When he came back he found his wife was having an affair with another man. He himself was constantly chasing his three daughters-in-law.

The meeting addressed itself to the question of what had caused this marriage breakdown. The husband had been wrong to pursue his daughters-in-law; the wife had been wrong in committing adultery, and so on. But how did it begin? Why had the wife gone to Port Moresby in the first place? So she told the tale. She had had diarrhoea; her husband had become angry. But she kept on going out of the house. She then took some of his betelnuts to chew, and he told her in a fury that he did not want her to go to his garden any longer. She did not get food for a day and a half and then left for Port Moresby.

No further questions were asked. Once the husband had confirmed this

581 account, the meeting ruled that the cause of the marriage breakdown was the
586 husband's refusal to allow her to enter his garden. The attempted seduction, the
adultery, the escapades to Port Moresby, the violent words and acts that had
627 characterised the marriage over the years were all declared to be blameworthy, but the most serious of the offences was the husband's act in denying his wife entry to the taro garden. This signified the breaking off of the basic exchange relation in a marriage whereby the man clears the garden, the wife harvests the taro, and cooks it, and the husband and wife both eat it. I was told that when this exchange relation is broken, the marriage itself breaks down.

Why it is the taro garden where exchange between husband and wife is so important will be discussed in Chapter VI. I am concerned here to show that in tracing the cause of a marriage breakdown, what the Orokaiva seem to be looking for is evidence of a breakdown in the area of gift exchange. As long as the husband still gives his wife taro, there may be considerable difficulties between them, but these are not *defined* as a breakdown in Orokaiva culture unless there is a breakdown in Obligatory exchange.

578 Another such case was that of a man who took sides in a quarrel between his
brother and another man who had been trying to rape, i.e. seduce by force, that
837 brother's wife. I thought that the village generally would be on the brother's
571 side, as rape is disapproved of, but almost everyone took the side of the rapist and the man who took the side of his brother had to leave the village. The man who was expelled had a long history of trouble making. During my stay he had been involved in every fight except those between husbands and wives. He had also committed rape, his victim being a prohibited partner under the incest rules. His trouble was, so I was told, that no woman wanted him. I asked my informants why this was. The reason was that he had been married previously, he had maltreated his wife and she had run away. Now nobody would help him.
[583] And why would nobody help him? Well, brideprice had been paid for his first
wife; it had been lost through his fault, and that was the 'real' reason why
[581] nobody supported him in the quarrel. Here again we notice that the cause of the trouble was the breakdown of an exchange cycle. When a man has been helped in paying brideprice he has an obligation towards his clansmen to hold his wife, raise a family and be a support for the others. He must manage the relationship with his own affines properly and make them into valuable exchange partners.

829 In both instances a basic exchange cycle had been broken and that was
thought to constitute the essence of the relationship. In the first case this was the
431 exchange between man and woman in making their own contributions and
436 deriving their own benefits in the taro garden – a cycle of exchange which parallels the cultivation cycle of the taro itself. In the second case it was the exchange between clansmen which is complete only when the man who received the brideprice provides recruits for the clan, as well as a steady new affinal alliance. It does not concern me here whether psychologists would, in such cases, accept the exchange breakdown as the real cause of the social breakdown; I have illustrated that the Orokaiva view social breakdowns in this manner.

773 Totoima's body, from which all derive their *ivo*. The feast seems to be the
776 occasion *par excellence*, at which the primeval communion is re-enacted. This is,
of course, a point that needs careful empirical demonstration, which will be
574 given in Chapter VII. All I wish to suggest at this stage is the existence of at least one ritual device whereby the state of permanent *isoro* between social groups can be overcome, the re-enactment of a communion for which the Totoima myth provides the mythological charter. Such a communion may be brought about only by a long series of economic and ritual preparations, such as a feast requires; there must be an abundance of taro and of pig, there must be feathers and ornaments, new loincloths, musical instruments and guests willing to share in the communion. Above all, there must be skilful magic. Even then, the success of a feast is never predictable, and always hangs in the balance. Thus the communion between social groups, in this philosophy always remains problematic but, for various practical reasons (the need for alliances in a world at
[829] war) it is frequently attempted. The social philosophy of the Orokaiva, then,
starts from the assumption of the gulf that yawns between man and man, and proceeds to delineate various techniques (of which the feast is one) to bridge it.

571 We are now able to see more clearly why among the Orokaiva social exchange
is rarely effective unless prestations of economic value are exchanged between
431 partners to mutual satisfaction. Relations between social groups are generally
829 unsatisfactory and hostile, but they can be made harmonious if one side gives
the other a feast, which the other side must reciprocate. The harmony thus
[574] established is an extraordinary state which is sure to be interrupted by
subsequent conflicts, so that feasts must be held periodically to keep group relationships within the bounds of amity.

Relationships between individuals follow the same pattern, though gift exchange here takes the place of the larger and more formal feasts. If no presents pass between two individuals for some time, this is thought to signify a breakdown of amity and the gradual re-establishment of the *natural* hostility between man and man. Only gift exchange prevents Orokaiva society from presenting the perfect living model of Hobbes' war between all and all. It is largely for this reason that I have chosen gift exchange as the basic principle in my analysis of Orokaiva society.[2]

3. *Towards a Model of Exchange*

121 The feasting myth quoted in the previous section seems to me to embody the essence of Orokaiva social philosophy, in as far as it explains the basic nature of gift exchange relations. My next task will be to translate this myth into the more abstract language of social science, as must be done if its ideas are to be made part of anthropological discourse.

A feast tends to be held by two social groups between whom relations have
628 turned somewhat sour. There may have been a war, or a murder, or some other
574 grievous act of violence or there may have been no more than minor friction
578 between them. One side may suspect that the other performed black magic
against them. Generally speaking, however, by the premises of Orokaiva social philosophy, both sides will have been storing up some grievances against the other. Often neither side will be willing to admit to the major responsibility for

the ill feeling that has built up; usually any attempt to assign guilt would lead 628
only to further conflict, as the record is too tangled to be satisfactorily sorted 574
out. The party which decides to hold the feast and to invite the other side may
or may not admit that it regards itself as guilty, and that it owes the other side a 578
debt. The past is simply set aside and the host acts as though the feast is a free
gift, an expression of disinterested love and generosity. The guest at the feast
accepts the same fiction.

Accordingly, if we regard a feast as an occasion for social exchange, as the 574
Orokaiva undoubtedly do, the basic objects of exchange are repentance and
forgiveness. Sometimes a few words are exchanged between host and guest to 578
express this notion of forgiving and forgetting, though I do not suppose this is 123
invariably the case. On one occasion I invited a man to have a feast with me,
after some months during which he had been acting unpleasantly towards me for [829]
reasons I did not quite understand. I must have unwittingly offended him. After
the meal he said: 'I did not really know you before now.' This implied that he
was willing to forgive and forget whatever had previously annoyed him. At the
same time, the fact of my inviting him indicated that I was sorry for whatever I
had done wrong. What we were really exchanging was a willingness to change our
attitudes to each other, which involved some effort for both of us. Whether this
is, in practice, done genuinely or only ritually does not concern me here as I am
discussing feasts from the viewpoint of Orokaiva collective representations.
When two groups feast together, each has the obligation to feel sorry for any
offence he has caused and to forgive any offence caused by the other side. It is
only thus that the feast can interrupt the inherent enmity between man and
man. Through the sharing of meat the two sides re-enact the communion
existing in primordial times when men, as brothers, shared the body of Totoima.

An essential part of any feast is that the host should offer meat to his guest. 574
But it is a total misapprehension of Orokaiva social philosophy to believe that it 261
is the meat that is being exchanged for forgiveness. If that were so, it would not
be essential for the two parties to consume it together. Certainly, if I have [431] ●
offended another person, I may make him a gift of meat in reparation. This is
often done. But the reconciliation between the parties is not effected by such a
gift alone. There must in addition be commensality (the common eating of taro)
and communion (the common eating of meat). The meat used in such a
communion is not an object of exchange. It is better described as a mediating
element which makes possible the actual transaction (i.e. the exchange of
repentance and forgiveness). Orokaiva are quite definite that there can be no
true repentance and forgiveness between men unless meat is consumed between
them. One may therefore regard meat as a *necessary* mediating element in this
transaction.

Perhaps the most useful insight to be derived from Orokaiva social philosophy 829
is that the natural form of a social relationship is cyclical and moves regularly 571
from hostility to reconciliation and back to hostility. In other words, the
Orokaiva do not see the model of a friendship, as do Westerners, in the form of a
perpetual harmony, so that every conflict that arises is regarded as a deviation
from the model. On the contrary, Orokaiva consider conflict as intrinsic to the
model. This is true also in the discussion of quite intimate relationships: father
and son, husband and wife, and so on. The perfect relationship is not one where

exhibited at every feast for guests to take home. This is an essential mediating 773
element in the social exchange between hosts and guests, and appears as such in 574
model 3. But why does this taro have to be there? What does it do? Why can it function effectively as a mediating element between guests and hosts? The answer to these questions lies in the myth about the origin of feasting (model 2).A This myth tells the Orokaiva that if they have a big heap of taro at a feast, they *can* have effective social exchange between hosts and guest. The myth also tells them that this heap of taro is essential. The starting mechanism thus provided by [789]
the myth for the social relationship is essentially a magical one. It is a magical code rather than a moral norm, even though it has become institutionalised almost like a norm. Of course, the starting mechanism, like all magic, can fail on occasion. But unless the magic is used, there can never be social relations.

REFERENCES

1 For location of Hamburata, see Fig. 10. 000

2 After writing this chapter, I found that Sahlins has also been interested in 571
Hobbes' social philosophy as in some way anticipating contemporary ideas about 431
primitive exchange ('Philosophie politique de l' "Essai sur le don"', 1968). 829
Especially close to Mauss' thought is Hobbes 'Fourth Law of Nature – Gratitude' (*Leviathan*, Part I, Ch. XIV).

A [See Category 574, p. 59--Analyst]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

CHAPTER IV

THE EXCHANGE SYSTEM AND THE NEW AGE

1. *Cultural Changes*

177 Many significant changes have occurred in Orokaiva society since European
[241] contact. The introduction of cash cropping has made the Orokaiva, to some
[437] extent, into a peasantry, depending to a limited degree on monetised marketing.
Furthermore, there has been a large amount of labour migration, mostly by male
[167] workers whose families stay behind in villages. Even in the villages, technological
[433] innovations have been influential in raising productivity and improving standards
of living, while sharply reducing the game population. People have become
[657] accustomed to the existence of a specialised political authority, wielded by
Australians but supported and assisted by Papuan functionaries. Inter-village and
[797] inter-tribal warfare has been effectively suppressed. The Orokaiva give at least
nominal allegiance to Christianity, and thus to the principle of obedience to an
omnipotent god.

829 These changes have profound implications for Orokaiva political philosophy.
177 As we have seen, the Orokaiva recognised the importance of Hobbes' question:
how can a man avoid a perpetual war between all and all? The answer, briefly, was
657 that social order can be created by a system of exchange partnerships. But this
was not Hobbes' own answer nor that of the Australians who now rule New
Guinea. If the changes pursued by the colonial government are wholly
successful, it is clear that exchange partnerships, as the basic source of social
order, must become subordinate to legitimate central political authority and the
modern market economy. In other words, there is what Gluckman calls a
'contradiction' (1965: 109) between Australian policy and the exchange-oriented
Orokaiva social philosophy. It is possible, but cannot be predicted, that
this 'contradiction' will eventually lead the Orokaiva to abandon their traditional
exchange ideology. In the meantime, however, it is already clear to the Orokaiva
that their world view is being seriously challenged by white wealth and power.

436 The effect of pressure on the exchange system is evident in many spheres. In
the economic sphere, the Orokaiva still carry on most of their non-monetary
437 transactions by the traditional system, using gift exchange between consanguines,
431 affines and bond friends. Furthermore, gifts of money are being made
along traditional lines, money being used either as a substitute for *hambo* and
other valuables, or as gifts from urban migrants to country kin. On the other
hand, store-bought goods are, by a general convention, excluded from the full
operation of the exchange system, only a minority being distributed as gifts. The

tendency is to use money income to purchase goods needed for daily life but 436
obtainable in the subsistence sector of the economy (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 437
192). Only a small minority of the goods used by Orokaiva fall into this
category, but if the tendency to exclude most store-bought goods from the gift 431
exchange system continues, we may expect that system gradually to decline in
importance as the monetary sector of the economy increases.

In the political sphere, the traditional system of control is still generally in 621
operation at the village level. Under this system some men may exert great
influence over a community, but they cannot enforce compliance by physical 622
sanctions. While the Orokaiva generally maintain this system, an exception is 657
made for councillors and committee men acting under delegated power from the
government. These men may lay complaints with Australian authority and in
practice do not always disdain to do so. Among the New Zealand Maori, any [171]
leader who so much as threatens to invoke European authority risks being
nicknamed 'Mr. Government' and losing all influence. Not so among the
Orokaiva; the argument is that it is better for such powers to be used by an
Orokaiva official than by the government itself. Nonetheless, use of authority 181
outside the extended family goes against the Orokaiva ethos and undermines the 177
exchange system in a minor way, because an official, by invoking his *authority*,
can obtain something from Alter without becoming indebted to Alter. A [622]
traditional leader, under the same circumstances, might have incurred a debt or
drawn on a kind of credit balance. Here again, the departure from the traditional
exchange system does not greatly intrude in everyday affairs, but is symptomatic
of the type of changes social development would bring. There has thus been a
growing inconsistency between the norms of the traditional exchange system
and the facts of labour migration, cash cropping, adherence to the Christian
Church, attendance at meetings called by councillors, school education, use of
medical services, changes in house architecture, participation in women's clubs,
savings and loan societies, rubber co-operatives and the like. How, if at all, did
Orokaiva thought cope with these basic inconsistencies?

I have explained how traditional institutions are accounted for. When I 773
inquired why it is that mankind wears clothing, makes fires, contracts marriages,
I would be told myths about the *dema* responsible for these institutions. I would
also be told that after the *dema* had shown men how to act in these matters
there had never been any change. There was primordial time during which men
lived, one might say, in the state of nature. In spite of the absence of strife and
death that era was not invariably represented as a happy one. Women were
desolate because they had no men to marry, no fire to cook with, no houses to
live in. In spite of most obstinate and desperate efforts, graphically described in
the myths, mankind failed to get the things it needed. The *dema* thus brought
release from suffering when they introduced cultural goods, techniques and rules
of behaviour. But after the *dema* died, nothing ever changed again.

While such beliefs belie any suggestions that the Orokaiva are without 173
history,[1] it remains true that the Orokaiva repertoire of historical explanations is 773
very small. The actions of the *dema*, the scission of lineages comparable to the
branches of a tree, the settlement of villages by men sleeping under a *barevo*
tree – this completes the set of traditional historical explanations of which I
have knowledge. How could the Orokaiva, confined to this set of concepts, find

423 ground, and with harvesting, which he may not do. Upon marriage, the new wife
is usually expected to garden on her husband's land. There is a fiction that, at
241 the time of marriage, she 'does not know' the work she is expected to do on the
[581] land of her new affines. Her mother-in-law has to instruct her and it is only after
[585] such an apprenticeship that her husband's people consider her competent to
tend taro on their land, harvest it and offer it to visitors in proper style. She
would usually have been trained in these tasks by the women of her own clan,
but the subtleties of family traditions differ.

423 As against these male and female obligations, we may note some clearcut
593 rights: the man's right to his wife's labour and the wife's equally important right
of unlimited access to the husband's garden land and to its produce. This right
241 extends not only to harvesting food for the household, but also for gifts she may
choose to make outside the household, providing that she manages the food
[578 supply so as to avoid shortages. A domestic dispute I observed in Sivepe
586] (referred to in Chapter III above) illustrates the importance attached to this
married woman's right. When this dispute was adjudicated, the 'explanation' of
the breakdown of the marriage was found in a single incident, namely the
husband's instruction to his wife not to go to his garden again. Here, in the view
of everyone present, lay the 'root' of the trouble, a judgement with which the
husband was willing to agree. This prohibition to go to his garden is one of the
few things a husband is on no account to utter to his wife; it amounts to total
repudiation of the conjugal relationship.

●[431 This brief discussion of social practices has already indicated that a garden
plot is a gift made by a man to a woman, while the productiveness of the land is
462] a gift from a woman to a man (because a man can neither plant nor harvest). Let
us now consider to what extent the nature of these gifts may be clarified in the
423 light of rituals, myths and indigenous explanations. It will be best to begin with
some legal ideas about land. As has been pointed out by Salisbury (1962: 67ff.)
241 among others, several sets of rights arise with respect to any one piece of land:
rights of the village, of the clan, of the lineage, and of the 'father of the ground'
or trustee. It is the last-mentioned person who assigns a piece of land (*enda*) to a
cultivator for the purpose of making a garden (*pure*). The cultivator to whom
[562 land may be assigned may be either male or female. Among the Orokaiva it is
common for women to have land assigned to them for cultivation in their own
462] right, even though most land is assigned to males. They receive this land mostly
from a father or brother, sometimes from their mother. When a woman wishes
to have a garden established on her land, she (voluntarily) transfers the land to
her husband or another male on a temporary basis so that he can carry out the
[789] crucial male tasks without which the garden cannot be made. These tasks are
ritual as well as productive. It is common for the men of a clan to hold a feast
together and to kill a pig from which they eat and obtain strength (*ivo*), before
clearing new ground. The fertility of the soil depends greatly on getting a good
burn after clearing, and a good burn depends on climatic conditions that can
never be wholly predicted. I was unable to find out much about the ritual
connected with clearing but gather it had to do with control over the sun and
[775] the rain. Another magical danger that arises in new gardens comes from the
ghosts (*sovai*) lurking in the reverted gardens or bush that is being cleared. The
garden thus established is the gift made by the man to the woman; the *pure* is

felt to be a feminine thing. In the myths it is the mother who buries the taro 423
shoots (her children) and covers them with leaves and earth which are equated 241
with her body. I shall show this in more detail in the next chapter. [773]

In Williams' report on the division of labour, planting is shown as a female task, whereas the time studies of Waddell and Krinks suggest that the activity is [462] actually shared by the couple. There is no real contradiction here, nor much evidence of change, as the man's task is to pound holes into the soil with his digging stick whereas the woman does the actual planting, or burying (*kowari*) of the seed.

Unless the normal rules are suspended, as happens at feasting time, men do 241
not harvest taro or other products of the *pure* where taro is planted. (The rules are different for the yam garden as we shall see later.) The explanation that is [462] given of this rule is that only the women know how to harvest crops to best advantage, i.e. at the right time and in the right quantities. If men harvested, the supply would never last through the lean season. The woman is responsible for nurture, in the widest sense. It is her task every day to bring home garden food [482] in the large string bag suspended from her head. Contrary to what white observers have sometimes believed, this is not a symbol of female slavery, but [562] rather of female power and it is done proudly. When my wife started to bring home produce from our own garden in Sivepe (in a different kind of bag), the women crowded round excitedly and congratulated her. The food gifts that are [431] constantly sent from one household to another may be, at least partly, regarded as a display by the women of their own success. The products of the taro garden (though not the yam garden) may ultimately be regarded as a gift from women to men. We may summarise the total transaction as follows: 562

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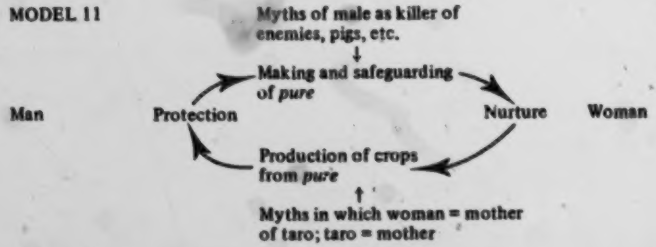
MODEL 11


Myths of male as killer of enemies, pigs, etc.
Making and safeguarding of *pure*
Man
Protection
Nurture
Woman
Production of crops from *pure*
Myths in which woman = mother of taro; taro = mother

On the basis of such a model, what precisely is the nature of 'rights' in land 423
enjoyed by husbands and wives? A simple analogy would be a jointly owned 593
machine of which one party controls all the bolts and the other controls all the nuts. The assets of neither party have any value independently of the other. Value can be created only by the co-operative *action* of screwing together bolts and nuts. Land transactions between Orokaiva husbands and wives are similarly a sequence of cumulative co-operative actions, such that each move by one party calls forth an appropriate response. The only 'rights' are 'rights' to responses once certain moves have been made. Legal disputes can in practice arise only if [598]

adjoining village, might receive land at a later date when that woman's daughter 423
married, according to the rule, in her mother's home village. This kind of pattern 425
is described by Hogbin (1967:24) for the Wogeo, who operate a system of land 583
dowries in conjunction with second-degree patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. 582

Often land is granted, on a temporary or even life-long basis, to persons other
than sisters or daughters. Land transfers may arise in a variety of social
relationships which cannot be easily categorised. In Inonda, where the village 423
domain is rather large, land is often lent by one lineage to another so that 425
cultivation areas can be close together or contiguous. This is done because [613]
people like to work at not too great a distance from one another. In Sivepe,
some land loans were made from a similar motive, mostly for rubber gardens.
When migrants from Garombi[2] settled in Sivepe, several grants of land were [166]
made to them, both for taro and yam gardens. Such arrangements do not usually
extend beyond the life time of the recipient although I do know of exceptions.
If the gift endures, it signifies a close and permanent bond between families who [571]
may be unrelated by kinship.

From the viewpoint I have adopted in this work, two questions are of special 121
interest in the analysis of land transfers: what social benefits are being
exchanged between the partners; and what are the symbolic motives for using
land as an object of mediation in these relationships? In order to approach these
questions, I shall first cite some situations in which land transfers are of practical
use and common occurrence:

1. Land transfers from wife's father to daughter's husband used to be very 423
common, especially in the early years of marriage. A man was expected to help
his wife's father with gardening and other tasks, and to stay with him for a year 583
or so. During this period, the father-in-law gave the couple a garden for their 425
own use. On occasion, this might be a garden to which the daughter had been
granted a permanent usehold. This type of bride-service is very much on the
decline today, as the payment of a substantial bridewealth in money acts as a
substitute. I encountered the custom once or twice and found that the
son-in-law regarded himself as the father-in-law's 'worker' or servant. We may [558]
therefore regard this type of land transfer as offering to the donor the
satisfaction of seeing the receiver reduced in social status.

2. In the other types of cases I shall mention, transfers of land do not place 423
recipients in a position of social inferiority. Certainly, in many cases harvest gifts 431
are expected from the borrowers of land but these tend to be small in size and to
lack any implications of status difference. For instance, many transfers are made 736
by widowers. These men have a choice between attaching themselves to the
family of a son, a daughter or a sister's son. In Sivepe, I found that each of these
choices was made twice in a total of six cases with which I am familiar. In all the
cases where an old man attached himself to a daughter or sister's son, he made
transfers of land to those who looked after him. The choice he makes is
prompted primarily by mutual affection but nonetheless his position is greatly
strengthened by the knowledge that he has some tangible way of showing his
gratitude, namely in the form of land. If he is unhappy with one relative and
moves to another, some part of his inheritance will probably move with him.

3. Cripples and widows are often in a similar position. They may need a

423 man to take responsibility while their sons are still too young. This man will
431 'look after' their land in an economic, political and religious sense and will restore
736 it to the son or sons when they come of age. But in the cases of which I have knowledge, some land is likely to stay with the protector, who often becomes an heir of the widow or cripple.

423 4. In all the cases mentioned so far land is an object representing respectable status and exchangeable for services of a quasi-filial nature. The same
591 applies to most instances I know of uxorilocal marriage. Here it was usually the
583 wife's relatives who desired the husband to stay with them, whereas the latter had no pressing reasons to leave his home village. They were generous in their offers of land, and no sensible man would move without such inducement. After the eruption of Mount Lamington, the survivors of the Sangara tribe, greatly reduced in numbers, offered generous land portions, on a wholly permanent basis, to men who would marry uxorilocally. Widowers dependent on the care of their daughters will encourage uxorilocal marriage in the same way. (The frequency of uxorilocal marriage among the Orokaiva is between 5 and 10 per cent.) In these cases it is clear that land donors are motivated by the desire to attract the son-in-law, and that the son-in-law is motivated by pleasure at the status he will gain as symbolised by the land he is allowed to 'look after'.

423 5. A very similar motivation may be found for the land transfers made in Sivepe in 1966–7 to families who had migrated from neighbouring Garombi.
425 Seeking an increase in population, Sivepe leaders frequently encouraged dissident
166 minorities in some neighbouring villages to join them. When the Garombi people came, a good deal of effort was made to obligate them and attract their friendship and loyalty. Two men gave useholds over gardens and one man gave a usehold over three yam gardens. It is likely that there were other transfers as well, just before I left the field and afterwards. One of the men who received a taro garden started using the donor's plant emblem when working in that garden, thus emphasising the closeness of the bond with the donor's family, as plant emblems are normally transmitted only by descent. Here the donors were motivated by a desire to attach the immigrants more closely to themselves, and the recipients gave friendship and loyalty in return. Here, as in uxorilocal residence, the migrants' willingness to settle in the village was itself treated as a benefit bestowed upon the local people by the migrants.

423 6. As already mentioned, the transfer of land to sisters and daughters is
428 very common. It is the rule that, in the absence of brothers and sons, sisters and daughters should inherit land in preference to second degree kin. I know of
425 several instances where absent brothers and sons were overlooked in favour of sisters and daughters resident in the village. Even if brothers and sons are living in the village, some land may be transferred to females. This will occur especially if a daughter's or sister's husband is known to be short of gardening land. In addition, it may occur for the kind of reasons given by Lawrence in his discussion of land transfers among the Garia, i.e. the enhanced status gained by the mother's brother when he acquires a junior follower strongly dependent on
[554] him. Among the Orokaiva where the majority of people marry close to home, a man's generosity to his sister may yield him quite a number of loyal supporters if the sister happened to have many children.

423 7. Land is sometimes made available by an individual *enda mama* for a
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community purpose. Whenever a new village is built it is necessary for some 423
individual to give garden land. Often several individuals give a piece each, but 621
such a gift does not entitle the donor to decide just who should live on each 431●
house site, nor to control in detail what residents do with their housing sites.
Trees planted by householders remain theirs in perpetuity. Such gifts to the [554]
community are not balanced by any specific reciprocal gifts or services, but the donors benefit by the contiguity of the village to their gardening land and perhaps, in a diffuse way, they benefit in social and religious status. Similar gifts have also been made in recent times for co-operative cash-cropping ventures, such as rice-growing in the late 1940s and a recent rubber co-operative in Sivepe. Here again, the total 'company' land was contributed by a number of people, some of whom shared out parcels to persons interested in planting rubber trees. In such cases, donors told me they acted for the good of the community, and everybody emphasised that the recipients incurred no obligation.

Let us now summarise briefly what social benefits are being exchanged 423
between partners in land transactions. Frequent as they are, voluntary land 425
transfers are always treated, in ideological statements, as departures from a 571
regular and more secure patrilineal pattern. It is as though a maternal uncle or affine or distant agnate has voluntarily assumed the role of fictional father of the borrower. One receives a benefit which, in the 'normal' state of affairs, would be given only to a younger brother or son. I do not know of cases where long-term borrowing of land in itself sufficed to induce a man to change his clan affiliation, as seems to happen among the Garia. In one case I quoted, a man adopted the lender's plant emblem, thus emphasising the element of fictional fatherhood. Other informants regarded this as entirely proper and highly sympathetic behaviour, though totally voluntary. Harvest gifts, however, were not wholly voluntary but expected. So was a certain filial attitude of loyalty, obligatory avoidance of quarrels, and willingness to perform supportive services. Only in the case of a son-in-law performing bride service did such an obligation place the borrower in a servant-like position. On the contrary, in most of the cases I quoted it was the lender who felt the stronger need to attract the borrower and enter into a closer relationship with him. For instance, the donor would often have a strong desire for a reliable military and political alliance with the borrower. If supportive familial services were needed, as in the case of old men and widowers, these services were not provided in repayment for land, but in fulfilment of a kinship-determined social obligation. By making a gift of land, the donor was doing no more than express his quasi-paternal sentiments.

We may conclude that, strictly, land is hardly ever an 'object of exchange', in 423
that one cannot suggest any specific major counter-gift or counter-service which 437
could be used to reciprocate. Allegiance and protection, benefits which the
land-borrower usually does furnish, cannot be bought with land. They may be 571
given as a response to quasi-paternal support and the enhancement of economic, social and ritual status. Social benefits of this kind are regularly exchanged
between non-agnates. In fact, it may be said that it is from social exchanges of [182]
this kind between non-agnates that Orokaiva society derives its cohesion or, to use Lawrence's phrase, maintains its security circle.

Why is land appropriate as a mediating object in such exchanges of social 423
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423 benefits between non-agnates? One might answer this question in a preliminary
431 way by saying that land is the only valuable permanent economic asset the
571 Orokaiva have at their disposal for the making of gifts to relatives and close kin.
Such gifts, apart from their economic significance, buttress social relationships
[769] both inside and outside the clan. The recipient is induced to maintain or assume
a filial attitude towards the donor, with all the political implications this may
have; a requirement evident not only from the social responsibilities he is apt to
accept but also from the magico-religious care he must take of the spirit (ancestor
of the donor) resident on the land.

423 Land gifts made to non-agnates should be considered not solely from the
431 viewpoint of sentiment, but also of their social consequence. When gifts are
made to a sister or daughter, the husband or son or the recipient must
593 subsequently, in regular daily practice, show increased allegiance to her family.
The *enda mama* of that land has become, in some ways, similar to a true father.
The recipient is made to feel, however gently, that he is a dependent.
Furthermore, it is a situation which it behoves him to manipulate; his rights are
always ultimately uncertain. He must try to tighten his hold over the land, and
in the end he can do this only by making himself loved, indispensable and
redoubtable in the eyes of his maternal family.

423 The key to the significance of land in mediating relationships of this type lies
425 in the continuing doubt as to the permanence of the land transfer. At the outset
it is often for a single growing season. Sometimes a man is told that he may keep the land as long as he resides in the village, or for his lifetime. But in practice his tenure depends on the course of his relationship with the donor. He may even be told that the land will be his permanently, though this is commonly only when he is the original owner's sister's or daughter's son. Such a promise of permanent occupancy, however, is never tantamount to ownership. In the next section we shall show that it remains hazardous and unwise to grow cash crops such as coffee on land given by the maternal family as long as fifty years previously, because even after this long interval claims can be made for the return of the land or of the proceeds from the crop. Thus a man has to pay very special respect to his maternal family and have regard to its wishes, if he desires continued enjoyment of the land. No other type of gift could do so much to ensure that he will feel a dual allegiance to both his paternal and maternal family.

We may summarise this relationship with the maternal family, for successful cases, in the following diagram. It will be noted that this diagram is basically similar to model 13, but there are significant differences in benefits exchanged: a maternal relative has no 'control' over the land-borrower, nor does the latter owe him any 'obedience'. Conversely, the land is not unconditionally available to further the best interests of the useholder's paternal family.

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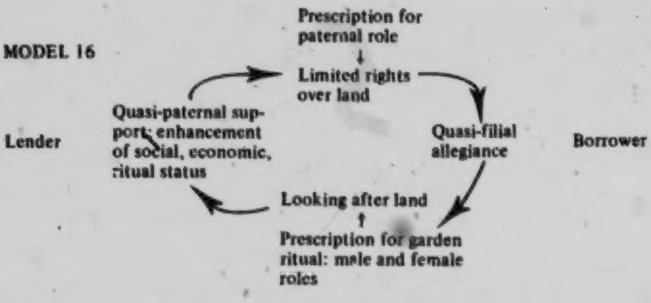
MODEL 16


Prescription for paternal role
Limited rights over land
Quasi-paternal support; enhancement of social, economic, ritual status
Lender
Quasi-filial allegiance
Borrower
Looking after land
Prescription for garden ritual: male and female roles

6. *Case Study of Uterine Land Inheritance*

If a person resides at too great a distance to make gardens on his land, he commonly passes it on to a suitable kinsman to be 'looked after', which means the establishment of gardens on it at regular intervals and the performance of religious rites. After a decent interval (perhaps twenty years), the caretakers will begin to press for a permanent arrangement: does the owner intend to return or will he pass over his land permanently to a resident? It is possible to stall on such a decision for a long time, but even if the owner's rights have the strongest basis, viz. patrilineal inheritance, they gradually become more tenuous and the man who looks after the land increasingly becomes the real master. Theoretically, [428] however, the right to patrimony land is never extinguished. At the same time, a [431] land gift to a sister or daughter is often made on the basis that when the land passes to her male heir he will be able to keep it permanently for his descendants. The formal rules on this point are flagrantly contradictory. If we wish to understand the principles behind uterine land inheritance, our most useful course will be to consider how the system operates in a concrete case.

The data I shall discuss here were reported in Crocombe's and Hogbin's study 614 of Inonda (1963) and supplemented in a brief study by myself. A leading man 423 from Tandai'undi clan (Seva village) gave most of the present Inonda domain to a leading man of Andiriha clan. The Andiriha made various gifts at that time 425 (1915) and also gave Tandai'undi two women in marriage. In the following [583] generation Tandai'undi, according to the custom (of patrilateral cross-cousin [582] marriage), gave two women in exchange to Andiriha, or to be precise, to the son of the donor of the original two women. It was then promised that the son of the elder of these two women would assume control and be permitted to pass on this land to his heirs.

In the 1950s several incidents occurred which emphasised the limitations of the rights of Andiriha. When some Tandai'undi were dismissed from a construction job (by a European overseer), they went to Inonda village where the foreman, an Andiriha, lived. They reminded the foreman that Inonda was 'their' land and that if he wanted to remain on it he had better get them their jobs back (Crocombe and Hogbin (1963: 72). As I have pointed out, a land borrower always has a duty to protect the interests of the lender and this

CHAPTER VI

TARO

1. *Introduction*

It has already been pointed out (Chapter II) that taro is the staple food of the 824
Orokaiva and that most of the taro produced is consumed directly by the [262]
producing household (over 90 per cent in all villages surveyed). Nonetheless, taro
is the most ubiquitous of all Orokaiva objects of exchange: most households give [431]
some of it away every day and it is part of the conventional set of gifts that [437]
change hands on virtually every ceremonial occasion.

It is the purpose of this chapter to show that taro has all the characteristics of
an object of mediation in the sense in which the term was used in the discussion
on land. In particular, man identifies himself with taro, there is a series of myths [773]
which validate this identification, and these myths indicate the special
significance of taro gifts. A wide range of social relations are mediated through [431]
taro gifts. Their main purpose is usually the mediating of social relations rather
than the setting up of a claim for a specific return gift. In this respect again taro
and land gifts resemble one another.

In his discussion of 'Reciprocity and Food', Sahlins (1965: 170–4) takes very 121

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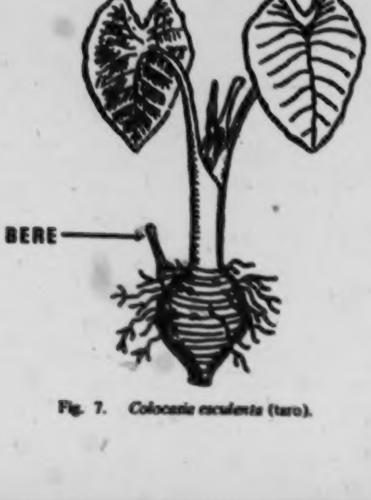

Fig. 7. *Colocasia esculenta* (taro).

121 much the same view of gifts of staple foods as I shall present here. He writes:

> The character of the goods exchanged seems to have an independent effect on the character of exchange. Staple foodstuffs cannot always be handled just like anything else. Food is life-giving, urgent, ordinarily symbolic of hearth and home, if not of mother. (*ibid.* 170)

I am wholly in agreement with this, except that I do not see why we should confine this argument to staple foods. Many other gifts objects have a similar symbolic quality and are 'socially not quite like anything else'. The essential point, however, is that Sahlins clearly recognises that the symbolic quality with which an object is invested helps to determine how it is used as a gift:

> From this several characteristic qualities of food transfers appear to follow. Food dealings are a delicate barometer, a ritual statement as it were, of social relations, and food is thus employed instrumentally as a starting, a sustaining, or a destroying mechanism of sociability. (*ibid.*)

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The present chapter elaborates these ideas, as applied to taro gifts among the Orokaiva. With the aid of some recorded myths, I shall try to show just how taro is conceptualised, in what precise sense it is symbolic of 'hearth and home', and specifically, in what sense it is symbolic of 'mother'. Secondly, I shall distinguish between two specific ritual statements that can be made with the aid of taro and show that these are indeed concerned with the starting and the sustaining of social relations. I shall show on the basis of mythological and ritual data that the two statements may be viewed as standing in a binary opposition: a masculine gift of raw taro inaugurates relations whereas a feminine gift of cooked taro maintains them.

Taro has a special position in the Orokaiva exchange system in that it symbolises commensality. Persons who exchange taro are either in fact or symbolically commensal. Thus taro exchanges are an almost infallible index of intimacy: once two persons have established a certain degree of intimacy, taro exchanges inevitably follow. The same cannot be said for any other object of mediation, not even pigmeat (which is exchanged only in certain specific circumstances) or coconut and areca (which are given, as a matter of custom, to even very casual acquaintances). I could put this more clearly perhaps by suggesting that the network of intimate associations maintained by any individual Orokaiva coincides with that individual's taro exchange network.

In the second part of the present chapter I shall refer to a somewhat detailed, statistically based, study of taro exchange networks. This study aims at answering the following questions: what role do taro exchanges play in the strengthening of existing intimate bonds based on exchange? What role do they play in widening the range of objects exchanged between partners, i.e. in making an already close social relationship even more intimate?

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It is obvious that taro exchanges cannot make any essential change in the relationship of members of the same corporate group. By definition, this relationship is already determined by the rules of incorporation. Thus, two brothers do not become more intimate by exchanging taro. On the other hand, if the taro is a feminine object of mediation, it may strengthen the relationship between the wives of two brothers, i.e. between persons whose existing intimate

bond is based on marriage exchange. Similarly, when married siblings of opposite 602
sex reside in the same village, taro exchanged between their households would 431
tend to strengthen the relationship between a sister and her brother's wife, and 824
between her brother and her husband. Again among the Orokaiva where corporate groups are rather small, the kinship bonds between distant agnates would carry no implication of intimacy. Intimacy could in such cases be maintained only if the kinship bond were strengthened by fairly frequent exchange transactions for which taro would be a most appropriate object of mediation. In all these instances, taro exchanges mediate an extension of intimacy beyond the narrow confines of the corporate group.

So far we have restricted our discussion of exchange to the mediation of dyadic relations between partners. But if the Orokaiva exchange system is to solve the problem of the smallness of corporate groups, dyadic relations alone would clearly be of limited utility. As evidence presented in this chapter will show, the most intimate relationships are mediated by rather frequent gifts of taro, as well as a variety of other kinds of social interaction. There is a limit to the number of such relationships that any individual can maintain. The maintenance of such intimacy between a cluster of three households would require each household to carry on very frequent exchange with two others. While this is manageable, it could not be extended to the whole of a village such as Sivepe, with twenty-two exchanging households. Nobody can maintain twenty-one intimate associations all at the same time.

This kind of problem may be attacked by the setting up of a variety of 591
corporate groupings on a basis other than kinship, and the study of such 824
groupings is one of the main subjects of political anthropology. The Orokaiva, 431
however, do not have corporate groupings of this type (no secret societies, no 437
age sets, no economic institutions whereby 'big men' can achieve clear ascendancy over others). Instead, Orokaiva developed a principle of cohesion which I would call the circuit of mediation. The simplest way in which twenty-two households can be joined in intimate association by a circuit of mediation would be if there were intimacy between households 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, and so on, the chain being closed by an intimate association between households 22 and 1. Households 1 and 3 might not maintain an intimate association, but they would share intimacy with 2 and this would serve to mediate relationships between them. In theory such circuits could be unlimited in length, though the system would be rather cumbersome and expensive if extended too far.

I shall show in this chapter that the Sivepe taro exchange system presents a striking instance of such a circuit of mediation. The demonstration of this point unfortunately requires some painstaking and perhaps unduly tedious statistical analysis, which is to be presented as a separate paper elsewhere; only the basic argument is set out here.

The analysis of taro exchanges provides us with a model of the Orokaiva 121
exchange system. We may not, of course, assume *a priori* that a model applicable to taro exchanges is applicable to anything else. That needs to be established empirically. If the culture is fairly homogeneous and the empirical data are reasonably full, the model ought to be confirmable in other areas such as marriage rules and the political system. If such confirmation is forthcoming, our

824 and the male is also the most illustrious victim of the killer – the victim whose name and spirit is adopted by the killer. This theme, widely reported among headhunters, is strongly emphasised in Orokaiva culture, as Williams recognised. [773] In the myth discussed here, and in several others, these complementary male and female aspects of the taro are indicated by the presence of a pair of *dema*, probably always siblings of opposite sex, and clearly marked as such in the present myth.

261 773 In addition to father, mother and twins, the myth contains a fifth character, the man from Managalasi, whose peculiarly male role is the hunting of animals. The marriage between him and Totoima's daughter lays down the Orokaiva principle that taro is a female product given to a man whereas meat is a male product given to a woman. In a number of myths I collected on the origin of marriage, that institution is set up by the male hero's action of bringing home meat to a woman instead of eating it in the bush, as was customary before marriage existed.

824 773 539 If female nature, in its pure state, is found in the taro garden and male nature, in its pure state, in the jungle, then it follows that human beings, being born of a man and a woman, have a mixed nature. In Totoima this dual nature is imperfectly developed (for he eats taro in the manner of a wild pig); similarly it is, at first, imperfectly developed in his son who does not hunt and has a purely taro nature. It is only when the man from Managalase has replaced the son's taro entrails with animal entrails that the latter has the power to defeat his father. He is then superior to his father because he has a fully human nature which is symbolised for instance by his manner of killing, with a club rather than the teeth (tusks), as did Totoima.

824 431 562 The analysis of this myth has enabled us to understand more precisely the sense in which it may be said that taro is, as Sahlins put it, symbolic of 'mother'. The Orokaiva do speak of taro as 'our mother' and the ideas they have in mind when they do so have been explained above. Taro is two things: it is a gift from a woman to her husband, and it is the offspring of the woman's womb inasmuch as she is identified with the taro goddess. The woman gives most of the taro-children she collects in the garden to her husband and others of her household, but she may extend this munificence by giving taro to others, i.e. by acting towards others as a quasi-wife or as though they were part of her household. Gifts of taro always have this intimate and deeply personal character as though the receiver was made part of the donor's household. The woman bears herself proudly, being pleased at having grown and cooked the food well; her attitude is formal and ceremonious, thus emphasising the importance of the gift and her respect for the recipient; at the same time she shows a certain solicitude, as though the recipient must be very hungry and very much in need of this meal.

3. *Taro as Mediator of Social Relations*

824 431 621 Gifts of taro may mediate either the establishment or perpetuation of a social relationship. But the ritual context of the gifts differs considerably. By far the most frequent type are gifts which maintain relationships; these are made by every Sivepe household every day. In the twenty-eight days for which I took

records of taro gifts made in Sivepe village, the number of gifts made and 824
received averaged 2.5 daily, ranging from a minimum of 1.3 averaged by the 431
household least involved in the exchange system, to a maximum of 4.1 averaged
by the household that made and received the most frequent gifts during the 621
period. Allowing for variations in size, age and personality characteristics in the various households, these figures present a fairly homogeneous picture of customary exchanges.

Most of the gifts were made within the village, though a small proportion 824
went to relatives and good friends who visited the village or who were visited by
members of the Sivepe community. The usual practice was for the woman to 431
bring home with her from the garden not only the taro her household was to eat 571
that night and the next morning, but also taro to be used for giving away. When the recipient was of the same village, the taro would be cooked and presented ready to eat. The presentation was hardly ever made by the husband and most frequently by the children who were sent over with the cooked food and gave it to the named recipient without any ceremony. When there was any ceremony about the gift at all, the housewife was the proper person to make the presentation.

If I inquired who was the donor of the food I was often given the name of the woman, but sometimes the name of her husband, especially if the recipient was one of the husband's close kinsmen. There was always the notion that the gift served to maintain a specific relationship which would be involving either the
husband or the wife. Strictly speaking, by far the greater proportion of the gifts [602]
were thus made to consanguines rather than affines. But it is better to regard the [621]
household as an integrated unit in its relations with other households, as the spouses undoubtedly mostly discuss together to whom food should be given. Essentially, taro gifts mediate relationships between households rather than individuals.

The size of the gifts was constant and seemed to be approximately what one 824
person would eat for a meal. If a household made a gift of several meals to 431
another household, this would be described to me as several gifts, with 571
specification of the names of individual recipients. Here again, there was a
contrast between the strict form of the gift and its overall significance. Strictly it 621
was food given by one person in household A to one person in household B. When the family sat down to eat, the person who received the gift taro would share it out to others in the household. Therefore one may say that the gift was, in its general effect, from one household to another, but in strict form, it was emphasised that the social relationship between households A and B was mediated by one person in each household whose relationship was especially close. Thus, I might be told that 'X' sent taro to his brother 'Y'. In fact, X's wife would give the taro to one of her children who would take it probably to Y's wife. Y's wife would give it to Y, saying it came from X. Y would then give everyone a piece of it. A single gift would thus mediate quite a number of bonds.

As the gifts were very frequent, it seems a hopeless enterprise to specify on what occasions they were made; at first I thought taro gifts were made without any reason. Nonetheless, it is useful to discuss briefly a series of instances when taro gifts are considered appropriate. Let us first list a few of the more formal occasions when the housewife herself would make the presentation:

431 824 1. The recipient's household was receiving a guest from a different village, or a family member returning after a period of absence. In such a case, the guest would invariably be specified as the recipient of the gift. Informants would also say that they were 'helping' the host household.

[846] 2. A woman in the recipient's household had just had a baby. In such a case the woman herself was forbidden to go to her garden (*post partum* taboo) so she had to be helped by others who would bring her food.

[764] 3. After any death in a household, food would be brought by women from a number of households, again because death places a taboo upon the garden of the bereaved family.

There were also certain stereotyped situations where people felt they must make gifts of taro, but where no special ceremony was necessary. Here the food was often sent through the donor's children:

[476] [621] 4. The recipient had performed some service for the donor's household during the day. The gift in such cases was not really a payment for services rendered, though sometimes it was explained to me that so-and-so was sent some food because he had been unable to do his garden that day: he had spent the day helping the donor. Such an explanation was always unsatisfactory because the man's wife had usually gone to the garden. Also, it would be very wrong to suppose that there was something like a free labour market and that a day's work could be purchased for a meal. It is better to assume that the two households were on an intimate footing, were in the habit of sending each other food occasionally, and that such gifts never signified more than a confirmation of the warm feelings existing between them. When a man had just been helping the donor household, such an affirmation of warm feelings would be especially appropriate.

[736] 5. The recipient was too old to grow for himself all the food he needed. In such a case he or she rarely moved into the household of a younger couple. There are actually a number of strict rules which make such an arrangement most uncomfortable for Orokaiva. For instance, spouses are not allowed to quarrel in the presence of a parent or an affine. Until an elderly person becomes very sick, he or she lives in a separate house, but cooked food is sent to that house regularly by one or more women who look after the old person.

6. Food was also sent, as a matter of common obligation, to the house of a person who was sick or disabled.

[621] These cases by no means exhaust the occasions when taro gifts were made. There were, in addition, certain households with which relations were so close that food was sent over several times a week, even in the absence of any particular reason. One might say that such households lived in a state of semi-commensality. Though they each ate in or in front of their own houses, they tended to spend the evenings together sitting and chatting around the same fire. In the mornings they would sit together before going to their gardens.

824 431 621 437 The proper form in which to present taro in all the cases discussed so far was without the taro tops, cut up, cooked and ready for eating. These gifts signified no more than a simple extension of commensality from the mostly nuclear

household to other households with which the bonds were intimate. Their 824
function was to maintain existing social relationships. Nobody maintained 431
relations of this sort with every household in the village; in the twenty-eight days
for which I kept tally, the number of partnerships of individual households 621
varied from three to fourteen out of a total of twenty-two households surveyed. 437
This means that the households with the smallest networks had only three exchange partners during the survey period, out of a possible total of twenty-one, and the households with the largest network still failed to exchange with seven of the available households. The average number of exchange partners for the sample was 8.5. If the survey period had been longer, no doubt this average would have been higher, but even when critical events occurred (there was one death and one important visitor in the survey period) food contributions were not sent by *all* households, nor even by all households belonging to the same clan. Each household had its own private network, partly determined by close consanguineal and affinal ties but partly also by idiosyncratic considerations.

Taro gifts made to establish new relationships were of a different kind. In 824
speaking of a 'new' relationship, I do not mean only those cases where gifts were
made to persons hitherto unknown. Such cases were rare indeed. It may be 431
justified, however, to speak of 'new' relationships when the nature of a 437
relationship was changed dramatically, made significantly more intimate, as the
result of a ceremony where gifts were made. Such a change would occur when [728]
one village invited another to a feast, thus terminating old hostilities and placing
the relationship on a new footing. Similarly, a dramatic change in relationship [585]
would occur as the result of a wedding ceremony when two kinship groups, whatever their previous relation, would begin to regard each other as affines. On a smaller scale, some relationships are intimate only at the time of actual contact. An example would be guest friendships and trading partnerships. Here the intimacy has to be re-established on every one of the infrequent occasions
when one partner visits the other. Even if there has been no conflict whatever, [572]
Orokaiva always ritually assume that a long-absent friend has become a stranger and the relationship must be restored. As far as I know, Orokaiva do not carry this notion as far as the Maori, who greet a long-absent friend as though they were still heavily in mourning for his death.

Taro is always given by the hosts when such a 'new' relationship is 824
established. But in such cases the taro is uncooked, and still has the top attached 431
to it. I was told that taro, in that form, still contained a spirit and was 'alive'.
The ceremonial way of giving such taro is in the form of a pyramid-like mound, [774]
the tubers facing outwards, the tops facing inwards. On the top of the mound, a few taro are placed with the tops facing upwards. The mounds should be built on a *gagu*. It will be noticed that the position of the taro on the *gagu* is precisely the same as the position in which Totoima's son lay ('with his chest turned upwards') when his father attacked him.

If we compare this type of gift with the type considered previously, we notice several reversals of the symbolism:

824 *Taro given for*	*Maintaining relationships*	*Starting relationships*
● 431 Parts of plant given	tuber only	entire plant
571 State of preparation	cooked	raw
Donor's sex	female	male
Ancestral twin with which gift is identified	female sibling	male sibling

824 431 The giver of a feast is always a male. Taro is hardly ever the only gift made on a ceremonial occasion, as pigs, *hambo* etc. must also be presented. Nonetheless, taro is essential as a mediating element in the starting of a 'new' relationship.

574 What is the significance of taro gifts in this context? Sahlins' suggestion that staple food when used as a gift object is symbolic of hearth, home and mother seem less cogent here than in the case of gifts of cooked food discussed earlier. In previous chapters I have presented a method for interpreting actions aimed at [774] the establishment of social relations. I suggested that some objects are believed to have a special potency in attracting partners and that this potency is believed to be due to the presence of the donor's spirit in the gift object and the transfer of that spirit to the recipient through the mediation of the object. The questions are these: why, and in what circumstances, can a *male* use taro for the mediation of social exchange? What is the mythical and philosophic charter for such mediation? What is the distinctive power of feast taro to compel the recipient to respond to the donor's wishes?

[775] The spirit substance transferred by the *male* when he gives taro at a feast is derived from his ancestors who are present in the land and in the tops of the taro. Just which ancestors are thought to be present it is hard to say, but they include the dead of the lineage who have used the land and they also undoubtedly include the spirit of the original *dema*, Totoima. It is believed that only certain varieties of taro are capable of successfully transmitting spirit in this way. These are known as feasting taro (*pondo ba*). I obtained a list of them, but this list was not very instructive. It contained virtually all the taro varieties growing in the informant's garden, though I was able to identify a few grown varieties which were specifically stated to be unsuitable for feast taro. Only a small minority of plants growing in the gardens belong to these varieties.

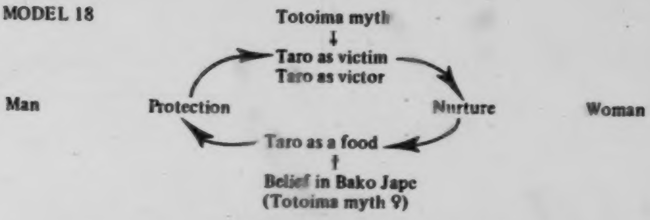
824 431 574 773 Males can use taro for the mediation of social exchange only if they are feasting varieties and if they are displayed, complete with tops, in such a way that they may symbolically represent Totoima's son: lying on a *gaga* with their chests turned upwards. What message does this symbolism convey? Totoima's son appears in the myth in two apparently contradictory roles: that of victim (eaten by his father) and of victor (killer of his father). So much is indisputable fact. It is easy to see what the gift of a feasting taro might mean if we take this symbolism to its logical conclusion. The message would be: 'You may eat me now; I shall kill you later.' No informant actually explained this meaning to me and this interpretation is therefore no more than conjecture. It accurately represents, however, the actual traditional relationship between feasting partners. A man who gives a feast deprives and humbles himself; every one of his gifts is symbolically a sacrifice of himself. His feasting partner is, in a symbolic sense, his enemy with whom he is now becoming reconciled. In order to effect

this reconciliation, he sacrifices himself symbolically in the form of his feast 924
taro. But as the myth states, this sacrifice is not a final death. After the feast is 431
over, the feast-giver is more spiritually potent than ever, having obtained the
assistance of his own ancestral spirits. He is thus able to overcome his enemies. 574

Although these ideas are all in some way implicit in gifts of feasting taro, [773]
their threatening aspects are kept very much in the background, as the ostensible purpose of the occasion is to establish amity. If the gift represents a display, in very pacific form, of the donor's power, it also offers an opportunity for communion as the recipient consumes food imbued with the spirit of the donor and the donor's spirit thus becomes, as it were, part of him.

At this point we may summarise in a more formal manner the results of our 824
analysis. The insight we have obtained into the meaning of taro gifts suggests 431
that part of the Totoima myth may be represented by the following exchange 773
cycle:

MODEL 18



This diagram does not represent the transaction between Totoima and his son (which has already been analysed in model 5)[A] but rather the transaction between the taro woman (Totoima's daughter) and the man from Managalase. Here the man acted as protector while the woman provided nurture. The man from Managalase is primarily a hunter. He arrives on the scene with a wallaby slung over his arm. When he finds Totoima's son with his innards missing, he replaces these with the innards of the wallaby, thus enabling the son to kill his father. Clearly the meaning is that man, while having nothing but taro inside him, becomes necessarily the victim of the wild pig (Totoima), but when he has meat inside him he becomes strong and able to kill the wild pig. Thus man, by his concern with hunting and the provision of meat, becomes a protector to his wife.

The Managalase is a neighbouring district where the main crop is yam, not taro, though a variety of inferior taro (*pijama*) is grown in small bush clearings. The Managalase magician is therefore in an intermediate position between Totoima and his son. Unlike Totoima he recognises the technology and domestication of taro, but inadequately as he is mainly a hunter. Such, at least, is the Orokaiva view of Managalase.

Taro, for the Orokaiva, is symbolic of strength; it is preferred to other staples 824
because it is believed to build stronger men. The success of an Orokaiva feast is 262
measured principally by the amount of taro that changes hands. It is significant 827
that in the fighting between Orokaiva and Managalase, the former were most
often the agressors and the latter the victims of cannibal raids, inroads on [574]

A [See Category 773, p. 64--Analyst] [721]

824 hunting territories and the like. Thus the Orokaiva regard themselves as stronger
262 than Managalase (certainly they are more numerous as their fertile land can
827 support a far denser population), which served to show the superiority of taro
over yam.

[721] The taro myth discussed above may therefore be recognised as a charter for
two contrasting types of taro gift made by Orokaiva. Woman provides cooked
824 taro domestically but man, in providing the raw feasting taro, employs taro as a
773 symbol of fighting strength. Heaped up in the manner of sacrificial victims, they
are given to guests, not so much to express commensality as to display and offer for consumption the competitive strength of the donating group.

4. *A Survey of Taro Gifts*

824 One special interest that taro gifts hold for the field anthropologist is their great
frequency which opens the possibility of statistical analysis of a fairly large
431 number of gifts of a fairly homogeneous kind. Twenty-two households were
125 visited daily (or almost daily) providing a record of taro gifts made over
128 twenty-eight days from 31 January to 10 March, 1967. Informants were asked
to whom they had sent presents during that day and from whom they had received presents. The survey provided useful incidental information about visitors who had been in the village during the day without my knowledge, and about gifts of objects other than taro. For the purpose of analysis I ignored gifts made to persons not resident in the village, as these were scattered over a great many villages and the survey period was not long enough to establish statistical regularities. Waddell reported that 40 per cent of taro gifts were made to persons outside the village (Sivepe), 10 per cent to villages within one mile of Sivepe, 14 per cent to villages situated between one and two miles from Sivepe, 9 per cent to more distant villages and 6 per cent to expatriate centres. (1968: 218). The statistics compiled by Waddell, however, are in terms of weight rather than the number of gifts. A gift of cooked taro made within a village was for one meal only (averaging perhaps 5 lbs.) while a gift of raw taro made to visitors from other villages or at feasts was more likely to weigh at least 25 lbs. Thus the number of gifts made to persons other than villagers was less than 10 per cent of the total.

As I intend to draw some significant conclusions from the statistics of intra-village taro gifts, it is relevant to describe briefly some difficulties I had in collecting these statistics. The fact that households were asked to report on gifts received as well as gifts made provided an effective check, as ideally all items should have been mentioned twice, once by the donor household and once by the recipient household. People very often forgot to tell me of some of the gifts received and made. Some people were most likely to forget what they had received; others would forget what they had given. If my study had been biased towards psychological anthropology, the frequency of these types of memory lapses among individuals might have given me a basis for establishing a typology of exchange partners. I soon found that nobody claimed gifts they had not actually made or received

From the first day of the survey it became obvious that my questions, simple though they seemed, contained an unexpected ambiguity: should the informant

include gifts to persons of the same household? It would have been easy enough 824
to lay down a rule that this kind of gift should be excluded from the survey and 431
nor mentioned by informants, but I decided that it was not for me to start
defining to the Orokaiva what was meant by a phrase like *ba ikari* 'to give taro'. 125
Evidently food given to household members was, in certain circumstances, 128
regarded as a gift. I recorded a total of 265 such 'transactions' from fourteen [592]
households during the survey period. Among those who mentioned such 'transactions' were some of my most helpful informants. At the beginning of the survey, household members were only sporadically mentioned but the number of mentions increased as the survey proceeded, until a pattern emerged.[2] A gift of food from wife to husband was never mentioned. A gift to a household member other than a natural or adopted child of one or both of the marriage partners was always included. Married daughters and sons old enough to live in a bachelor's house were always included. What confused informants most was how to regard gifts to younger sons and daughters.

Some parents included their children if they were old enough to be of school age. Others included the boys if they had gone through the 'birthday' ceremony which nowadays takes the place of initiation and included the boys if they had been through puberty seclusion. Others again did not include their dependent
children at all. There was no uniform pattern. I ascribe the confusion to two [857]
factors: first, it used to be customary for children to start working in the garden at a very early age, doing whatever was within their capacity and making some contribution to the household economy. Boys would be given their own small garden plots at an early age and their sisters would fulfil some feminine tasks
(planting, harvesting) in these plots. When schooling became general in the [871]
district, the children ceased making that kind of contribution. Secondly, school
'lunches' were mostly taken by the children every morning and eaten on the [899]
school grounds. These lunches were identical in form to the intra-village taro gifts: they were a meal of cooked taro cooked by the mother and taken out of the home.

Intra-household taro gifts were reported to me in too inconsistent a fashion 824
to permit statistical analysis, but they were interesting as they revealed the 431
household to be, in itself, a minuscule exchange system. This system was intact
to a greater extent in Hohorita, where schooling ends at grade 3, than in Sivepe 125
where adolescents are mostly at school rather than in the garden. At Hohorita 592
adolescents grew and (if they were females) harvested vegetable food, gave this
to their mothers, and their mothers fed and looked after them. The same [871]
principle applied in Sivepe to adults living with their adult and married children, [883]
brothers or sisters. Even very old men and women do what gardening they can to make a contribution. The record shows, in the case of some of these old people, that they made hardly any contribution at all during the survey period. As this was a period when taro was becoming scarce, their small gardens were exhausted, but a few months later some of them would again have crops of their own.

Most of the older people who thus depended on gifts for their sustenance [737]
were not fed by one household only, though usually one household bore most of the burden. However, wherever there was a helpless old person, there were always at least two regularly contributing households in addition to the one to which that person was attached. We must distinguish, among the Orokaiva,

824 between co-residence and commensality, notions which the Orokaiva themselves
clearly do not regard as synonymous. Persons who are co-resident are always, in
431 practice, at least in part commensal, they are not necessarily wholly so. Not only
125 old people but also bachelors and young women, single or married, receive gifts
592 of taro from other households of which they are the specific recipients. Food
they receive in their own residence may therefore be classed as a gift if they have
not supplied raw food to the housewife on the same day.

824 To what extent is there a notion that food gifts should be balanced as
between donor and recipient? According to the statistics, perfect balance is
431 uncommon and occurs most often where exchanges are somewhat infrequent. In
621 Table VI/1, I classified households according to the degree of balance in all
128 intra-village taro gifts made to persons resident in other households. The code
number 0 indicates perfect balance in the total number of gifts sent and
received; the code number 6 indicates an imbalance greater than the proportion
75:25. Intermediate code numbers indicate a lesser amount of imbalance. At
first sight, Tables VI/1 and VI/2 suggest that little importance is attached to
balance in food gifts. In more than half the households, the total imbalance
exceeds the proportion 60:40. Nor does there seem to be an ideological charter
enjoining a person who has received a food gift to return that gift in the near
future. The donor says he expects no return gift. If one asks him why he has
made the gift he never mentions services or gifts received in the past for which
he may be reciprocating. He will say, 'because that man is my wife's father's
sister's son' or whatever the kinship relation may be.

A more careful look at the figures, however, makes one wonder whether such indifference to balance is the whole story. Some informants stated that though the donor expects no return gift, the recipient often likes to make one. Some families are more punctilious than others in this respect. The most punctilious of all was the leading family of Seho (H5, H12, H13, H14, H20, H21). They all had an imbalance smaller than the proportion 55:45. Only one other household in the sample achieved this low score.

[737] In most of the households where there is an extreme inbalance, the
explanation is that the household contains aged people who require help, or that
the household is deeply involved in giving help to aged people. This factor
accounts for the inbalance in households 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 18, 18a, and 19. The
imbalance in households 8 and 9 is explained by the fact that householder 8 was
[166] helping householder 9 to build a house. Householders 5, 15, and 17 were
immigrants from Garombi who gave more than they received, probably because
of an anxiety to become accepted and build up good relations in their new place
of residence.

824 Finally, the notion of balance is implicit in the timing of many of the taro
gifts. It was a very common practice indeed to make a return gift on the same
431 day as a gift of taro had been received, or on the day immediately following.
571 Though informants told me they were under absolutely no obligation to respond
621 so urgently or to respond at all, the record shows that in practice they
frequently did so. We must therefore conclude that the Orokaiva do have some
notions which lead them to reciprocate taro gifts, even though there is no rule
enjoining immediate balanced exchange.

I would suggest that the Orokaiva proceed from a notion that taro is a

TABLE VI/1

SIVEPE: TARO TRANSACTIONS BY HOUSEHOLD

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Household Code No.	*Total Transactions*	*Sent*	*Received*	*No. of Partners*	*Degree of Imbalance**
1	58	40	18	9	4
2	37	1	36	6	6
3	41	26	15	9	3
4	57	35	22	9	3
5	101	54	47	14	1
6	70	45	25	4	3
7	87	24	63	12	5
8	56	33	23	3	2
9	71	40	31	6	2
10	58	21	35	5	3
11	68	36	32	10	1
12	117	59	58	8	1
13	85	44	41	7	1
14	101	52	49	7	1
15	60	34	26	11	2
16	60	37	23	13	3
17	79	50	29	14	3
18	62	9	53	10	6
18a	48	37	11	10	6
19	81	54	27	9	4
20	84	46	38	12	1
21	82	41	41	8	0

* Code: 0 = larger donor gives exactly 50% of gifts;
1 = larger donor gives 50–55%; 2 = larger donor gives 55–60%;
3 = larger donor gives 60–65%; 4 = larger donor gives 65–70%;
5 = larger donor gives 70–75%; 6 = larger donor gives over 75%.

mediating element in the perpetuation of social relations. Within a village, social relations of some sort exist between almost all the members. In my enquiries in Sivepe I came across only one instance of two men, both resident in Sivepe, who denied having or ever having had social relations of any sort with each other. There may have been one or two more instances I did not detect, but they would be very rare. Social relations between households in a village may range from very distant (when no taro gifts are exchanged) to very intimate (when taro gifts may be made four or more times per week). Many households have social relations which are close but not intimate, symbolised by taro gifts made a few times per month. The frequency of taro gifts is of course not the only way of symbolising intimacy, though it is the sign I found the easiest to quantify. It was my impression that those households which maintained the most frequent informal association with one another were also those who made each other the most frequent taro gifts. These were the households who were deeply dependent

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924 on one another in sentiment, in economic tasks, in political support. They would
431 tend to side with one another in village disputes. Thus, taro gifts were a ritual
621 statement in which one household expressed its desire for close association with
another.

571 Now, on this level of association, mutuality and reciprocity are obviously essential if the association is to be established on an equal footing. The return gift should therefore not be considered principally as an obligation (arising from a 'norm of reciprocity') but as a ritual statement reciprocating the desire to maintain a close association. Here the question of the frequency of gifts is closely connected with the question of how intimate either side wishes the association to be. An increase of the frequency of gifts means a desire for a more intimate association. The recipient may wish to keep the association within certain limits. The Garombi migrants who gave more than they received seemed to be constantly trying to build up new alliances and were welcomed more warmly by some of the old residents than by others.

Failure to make a return gift of course does not always 'mean' that one is not interested in maintaining social relations of the closeness envisaged by the other party. There are many circumstances when people are not immediately in a position to make return gifts. In such cases I would not say that the recipient remains entirely without obligation, but rather that the obligation is delayed indefinitely. Thus a man may say he is giving food to his father or other senior relative because of some benefits received in the past. (He was himself fed by the senior person in his youth; he was helped with his bride-price, etc.) Or else a man will say that when his hosts visit his own village, he will then reciprocate. In fact guests customarily press their hosts to make an early return visit and hosts sometimes feel some obligation to do so. It is a pleasurable obligation no doubt, but it is clear that the purpose of such a journey is not to get one's taro back but to maintain the association.

It follows from this discussion that the households to which the most frequent taro gifts are made are those with which the greatest intimacy is desired. If the recipients, though fully capable of making equally frequent return gifts, reciprocate too half-heartedly, the donor household will probably reduce its gifts to the level acceptable to its partner. If the recipients are not capable of making equally frequent returns, the frequent gifts will continue, and the taro ledger will remain unbalanced. Thus, irrespective of the degree of balance, we may regard high frequency of taro gifts as a generally reliable index of intimacy of association. I am leaving out of consideration here the question, raised by Sahlins (1965), of whether degree of balance is determined by kinship distance. Exchanges of taro have a social as well as an economic aspect. Where the social aspect is uppermost (i.e. where the exchanges are not primarily based on need), they tend to be close and balanced, as long as both partners are satisfied with the prevailing frequency of interaction. Where the economic aspect is uppermost (i.e. where one partner is for some reason unable to harvest his own taro), no *social* importance is attached to imbalance and Sahlins' generalisation would probably hold for the Orokaiva of Sivepe.

5. *Clusters and Chains, Two Patterns of Intimacy*

How can taro gifts mediate close associations among larger groups than dyads of 824
exchange partners? This involves a complex sociological problem that cannot be 431
solved in the framework of the present study: why do men tend to give
disproportionate attention to a very small number of their closest associates and 571
much less attention to a larger group who are still close and trusted friends? A 621
principle of allocation clearly operates here: intimate relationships demand more time and energy than can be devoted to the entire circle of close friends. But it is by no means clear what is the role of intimates as distinct from other valued friends. This hierarchy of association, whatever its explanation, is very evident among Orokaiva, not only in the way in which individuals spend their leisure time and compose their co-operative groups, but also in their allocation of taro gifts among their exchange partners.

In Sivepe the number of exchange partners maintained by a household varies from three to fourteen, with an average of 8.5. The first (i.e. most frequent) partner is involved in an average of 38 per cent of all taro transactions, the second partner in 24 per cent, the third in 12 per cent while the other partnerships account for only 26 per cent of all transactions. It is clear that the first and second partners are in a very privileged position in comparison with the others.

A second way of describing the pattern of intimacy would be to assume that there is some community norm whereby a certain degree of intimacy is expressed by a specific frequency of interaction. My impressions, supported by the statistical data and some generalisations offered by informants, is that each household has a few preferential partners to whom it gives or from whom it receives taro at least twice a week, but often far more frequently. In this sense every household in my sample had at least two preferential partnerships. Ten households out of twenty-two had a third, five households a fourth and one (the Seho clan leader) had five preferential partnerships.

The data show that where households are linked by primary kinship, they mostly set up a 'preferential' taro partnership. Only 30 per cent of preferential partnerships, however, fall in this category. The rest can be accounted for only if land transactions, political considerations, and the total past history of personal relationships and transactions are taken into consideration.

For statistical reasons alone it would seem that preferential partnerships are worth some detailed investigation. They clearly add substantially to the number of intimates on whom an individual can count for support over and above those who can be depended on purely by virtue of membership of the same corporate group. In addition preferential partnerships are of crucial importance as a basis for close co-operation between sets of persons larger than the exchanging dyad.

In Fig. 8, all preferential partnerships in Sivepe are shown in sociographic [128]
form. A distinction has been made in the sociogram according to the extent to which social preference is mutual. Households A and B may be said to stand in a 'closest mutual relationship' (marked by a hard line), if B is a first or second partner to A and A is a first or second partner to B. If none, or only one of these conditions are satisfied, the relationship is shown by a wavy line.

Though a full analysis of taro gift patterns has to await separate publication,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

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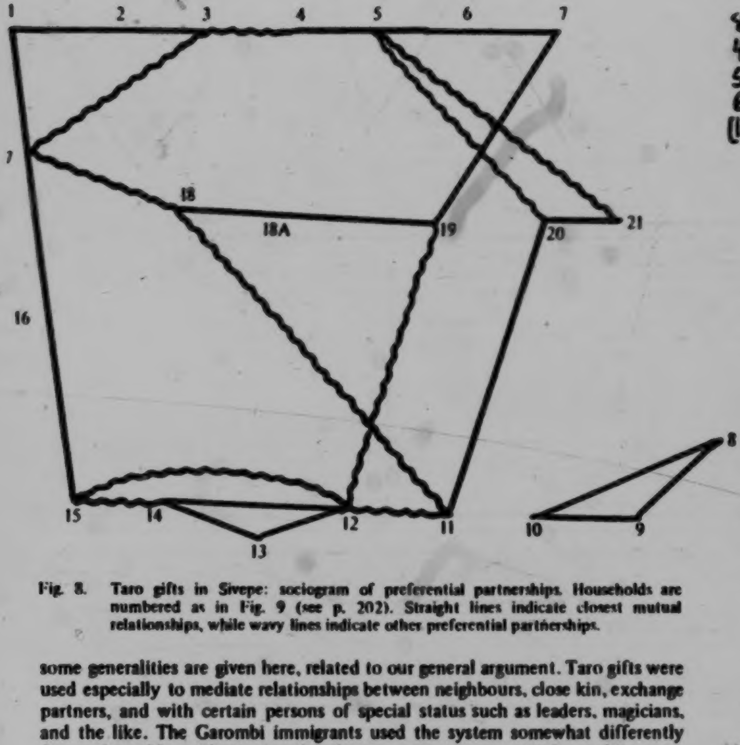
TABLE VI/2

SIVEPE: TARO TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN PREFERENTIAL PARTNERS

Household Code No.	First Partner	Sent	Received	Second Partner	Sent	Received	Third Partner	Sent	Received
1	H17	7	11	H2	16	0	H5	4	3
2	H1	0	17	H3	0	11	H17	1	4
3	H2	12	0	H17	4	4	H4	2	5
4	H5	15	12	H3	5	2	H7	6	0
5	H4	12	14	H6	11	7	H21	11	6
6	H7	33	12	H5	7	11	H4	2	2
7	H6	14	30	H19	5	11	H4	0	6
8	H9	13	16	H10	18	7	H7	2	0
9	H8	15	15	H10	16	7	H13	4	2
10	H8	7	17	H9	7	12	H11	3	4
11	H12	10	11	H20	18	4	H18	6	2
12	H13	17	19	H14	15	19	H11	12	10
13	H14	21	17	H12	19	16	H9	2	3
14	H13	16	21	H12	17	16	H15	6	8
15	H14	8	6	H16	6	7	H12	3	5
16	H17	8	6	H15	7	6	H7	7	0
17	H1	11	5	H16	6	8	H18	7	3
18	H18a	0	15	H17	3	7	H11	3	6
18a	H18	15	0	H19	8	4	H17	3	3
19	H7	24	5	H18a	4	8	H12	5	6
20	H21	28	19	H11	4	8	H5	4	4
21	H20	22	20	H5	6	11	H11	4	1



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[128]

Fig. 8. Taro gifts in Sivepe: sociogram of preferential partnerships. Households are numbered as in Fig. 9 (see p. 202). Straight lines indicate closest mutual relationships, while wavy lines indicate other preferential partnerships.

some generalities are given here, related to our general argument. Taro gifts were used especially to mediate relationships between neighbours, close kin, exchange partners, and with certain persons of special status such as leaders, magicians, and the like. The Garombi immigrants used the system somewhat differently from the old residents, as the former were more actively seeking new partnerships, especially with the more influential old residents.

Graph analysis shows two chief patterns: the cluster and the circuit. From the viewpoint of the quality of social relationships, the cluster is obviously to be preferred, as it provides intimate one-degree links between all members of the community. No doubt the Orokaiva's traditional predilection for small villages of six households or so arose from the comfortable feeling that all households could then be intimate with each other. We find several clusters among Sivepe inhabitants, especially among Seho and Sorovi households, but if preferential partnerships did not exist except inside these clusters, the result would be a division of the village into very loosely connected cliques.

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[361]

In fact, we find a second connecting principle which I have called the circuit, as it resembles the Hamilton circuit familiar in graph theory. A circuit of *n* households (H1, H2, H3 . . . , Hn) is defined as a set in which H2 has a

824 'closest mutual relationship' with H1 and H3; H3 with H2 and H4 and so on.
431 Closure of the circuit is achieved if Hn has a 'closest mutual relationship' with
H(n – 1) and H1. The largest such circuit, or near-circuit, connects the great
571 majority of households of all clans and may thus be considered a unifying
621 principle for the village as a whole. The second, much more strongly
128 constructed, links eleven households of the Jegase-Sorovi clans, but includes not
a single Seho household. Even though this circuit of ten households contains two
flaws (wavy instead of hard lines), it is most improbable that it would turn up by
chance.

How circuits are generated in time becomes clear from a study of the recent immigrants from Garombi. Householder 17, before leaving Garombi, had no particularly close links in Sivepe; yet our survey shows him as having two preferential partnerships with old-time Sivepe residents, one Jegase and one Seho (H18 and H16 respectively).

A curious feature is the almost uniform practice of choosing immediate
neighbours as preferential partners. It would be too simple, however, to suppose
that there is a rule whereby one must have these specially frequent exchanges
[361] with one's neighbours. Certainly I never found a trace of such a rule. On the
[209] other hand there are quite complex considerations in the choice of house sites,
such that there is the maximum correspondence between physical and social
distance from others in the village. When social relations between neighbours
become bad, one of them is liable to shift his house elsewhere, so he can be close
to an intimate.

824 The circuit corresponds remarkably well to the Orokaiva system of clan
431 formation. Thus the Jegase 'clan' in Sivepe is actually constituted by four totally
unrelated groups, three of which migrated to Sivepe since the beginning of the
571 century and which gradually grew into a single clan by a process of fusion (See
621 Chapter X). They now occupy six houses and ancillary buildings on the
Jegase-Sorovi circuit, and three houses which form a chain attached to that
128 circuit, i.e. a total of nine houses. Each 'lineage' forms a short chain of its own,
614 and the chains are mostly linked together by uterine bonds. Now it is precisely
these uterine bonds which brought about the fusion of the groups of migrants
into a single clan. Yet this clan was still far more fragmented than Seho.
Therefore, there was not much incentive to clustering, which requires far greater
intimacy than existed among the Jegase.

824 It is precisely the lack of intimacy between small social chains that produced
the Sivepe circuits. As we have seen, these circuits are mathematical models built
431 after the reality of residence and taro exchange patterns. It is characteristic of a
571 circuit that no two households share the same 'closest mutual relationships'.
621 Thus H2 and H3 have a 'closest mutual relationship' but H3 does not share the
128 'closest mutual relationship' between H2 and H1. It is in this respect that a chain
is quite unlike a 'minimal cluster'. The chain arrangement has two practical
consequences: if H1 falls out with H3, H2 will mediate; and if H1 and H3 wish
to co-operate, H2 will normally be a party to the arrangements as these tend to
be made in front of his house, in his hearing and probably in his presence. The
structure provides for the possibility that H3 may draw in H4, H4 may draw in
H5 and so forth. Actual cases of such political action will obviously tend to be

less tidy but lateral communication by means of intermediaries was a pattern to 824
be frequently observed. 431

The topographical position of a house was therefore at the same time a fixed
position in the taro exchange network and in the network of alliances. One 621
could almost tell from where a person lived what that person would do. When 571
fierce arguments and hot abuse rang through the night as two households held a 128
cutting dispute with each other, those households were likely to live at opposite
ends of the village, either at far ends of the chain or at opposite ends of a wider [209]
and looser chain of associations which comprised the village as a whole.

The Seho clusters and the Jegase–Sorovi chain were at opposite sides of the 824
village, but were linked to each other by two connecting chains, consisting
largely of people who lived at the outer ends of the elongated village rectangle. 431
One of these connecting chains was formed by men who came from Soroputa 621
and who married wives from the Seho clan. (H5, H20-H21, H11, H12.) The 614
other connecting chain consisted of Seho and Sorovi householders whose
distinguishing feature was that they maintained rather wide taro exchange 361
networks, had peaceful natures and tried to keep on friendly terms with almost 128
everyone. (H14, H15, H16, H17). The links shown on the sociogram between the Jegase-Sorovi chain and the Seho people are of great interest as they show the degree of closeness between the two main clan formations (Jegase and Seho). Judging from the taro exchange network, these relations are not critically remote but on the other hand not so close that the two sides are in any danger of losing their separate identity.

Leadership in the two clans differed in a manner that is clearly recognisable on 614
the graph. Seho had an aristocratic type of New Guinean 'big man' leadership, the 571
leader (H12) having hardly any real intimates except primary kin who were 554
rather numerous. These primary kin, however, between them, had intimate links
with nearly everybody in the village. The leader had preferential partnerships 128
and close connections with a few but not all the Garombi immigrants, using his close contacts as middlemen. The Jegase sociometric star (H5) had a far wider exchange network, including all the Garombi families, and almost nightly there were large gatherings in his *arara*. On the other hand, his primary kin links were far fewer; he depended on the systematic fostering of new associations for his challenge to the Seho leadership. Thus cluster and circuit, the two types of association found in Sivepe, each had its own characteristic form of leadership.

6. *Structural Implications*

We have found that gifts of cooked taro are essentially a woman's gift, and that 824
these gifts, if made continuously at short intervals, are a ritual statement of the 431
maintenance of intimacy between pairs of households. The exchange may be
stated formally in the following diagram: 621

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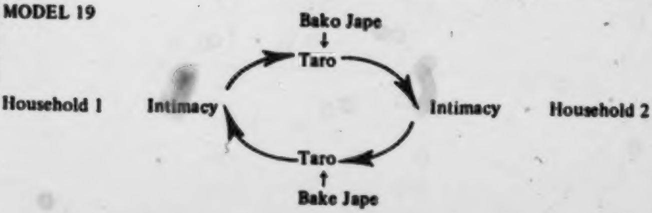
MODEL 19



How can an exchange model of this sort establish enduring solidarity in a village containing as many as twenty-two households? In a small cluster of households solidarity can be established by the device of every member exchanging with the required frequency with every other member.

But when there are twenty-two households, the same pattern could be maintained only if twenty-one 'closest mutual relationships' were kept up by each household. This is manifestly impossible as the relationships require, not only regular gifts of taro, but also close and frequent association.

Several devices for increasing the range of a solidarity network have been explored in Lévi-Strauss' theoretical study of marriage exchange (1949). They may be classified as various forms of direct and generalised exchange. Theoretically, any of these devices might have been used to cope with the problems of taro exchange. There might have been a rule delaying the return of gifts, or even forbidding the acceptance of taro gifts from those to whom one had given taro. But these devices would have made an exchange network of twenty-two households theoretically feasible. None of them is, in fact, found among the Orokaiva. Instead we found the pattern I called a chain.

The problem which a circuit-like structure attempts to solve is that of establishing or maintaining amity and solidarity between two parties (A and B) who are not linked by bonds of any special intimacy. The procedure followed is that A and B use one or more persons to mediate between them. In the simplest case, where A and B are separated by only one link in the chain, they share the same intimate associate who can act as mediator. If they do not share an intimate, i.e. if they are separated by two or more links in the chain, an accommodation may be reached through a series of mediators who act vicariously on behalf of the principal parties. The arrangement, in its simplest form, is shown in Model 20 which may, of course, be extended indefinitely by inserting intermediate exchange cycles. In practice, this model would be utilised rarely between neighbours living only two houses away from each other. It is, however, a pervasive pattern of Orokaiva social life. It is regularly employed in the making of requests by someone who is not an intimate. A refusal always offends. But if a request is made through a mediator both sides may pretend it has never been made. At least, no hard words are spoken. There is a customary blank, expressionless style which is used for the transmitting of requests – symbolic gestures of neutrality. The mediator avoids all risks of endangering his own alliances while still making what effort he can to satisfy the party seeking the benefit. If the mediator's intervention is successful, this undoubtedly increases his standing and creates an obligation on the part of the beneficiary.

628 In dealings between different villages, the use of a chain of mediators is extremely common. A will approach a fellow-villager B, who has connections in the other village; B will go to the other village and see C, his closest contact. C will then most likely go to D, one of the intimates of the person E with whom A desires to deal, and D will look for E. During the ensuing conversation, A and E will say very little, and it is the intermediaries who do most of the talking.

824 The intimate associate, often a neighbour, is thus extremely valuable, as he
431 opens up a vista of alliances to which his partner has no easy access. A man's
effective social network is therefore much wider than any network he could
621 personally maintain by direct exchanges. Most of his effective alliances are
571 vicarious and can be reached only through intermediaries.

The social network maintained by a sizeable circuit is therefore very considerable. It is greater than any solidarity group the Orokaiva could build up by maintaining their patrilineage bonds or by exclusively exploiting any other principle of kin group solidarity. The significance of gifts of cooked taro is that they maintain the intimate bonds needed to retain vicarious access to this network. Cooked taro mediates not only the exchange of intimate attachment, but also the exchange access to *alter's* private network of alliances.

If a village formed a perfect cluster, this kind of exchange could not happen, as all members share exclusively each other's most intimate alliances. Where a circuit structure prevails, a man's partner always has an intimate relationship he does not share, so that the man is dependent on his partner for access to that partner's distinctive exchange network. A society whose solidarity depends heavily on direct immediate exchange may have a rather wide network of alliances as long as it has strong institutional patterns of mediation. The importance of these patterns in Orokaiva society cannot, of course, be gauged by reference to taro exchanges alone, but it is now possible to inquire to what extent the model I have constructed on the basis of taro exchange applies in other areas of Orokaiva culture.

Clearly this model, if transposed to the level of marriage exchange, would include elements of both direct and generalised exchange. The cluster resembles direct exchange: the maintenance of relationships within the system depends entirely on benefits received from all households included in the system. On the other hand the chain has the circular form characteristic of generalised exchange. It includes households who receive no direct benefits from one another except the vicarious one of joint membership in the system. In some respects the chain, of course, differs fundamentally from a system of generalised exchange: the taro travels in both directions around the circle. But I have emphasised that taro is not strictly an object of exchange but of mediation. If there is a need to establish intimate social exchange between remote members of a chain, this will not be, as a general rule, for the exchange of identical benefits. Thus the benefits travelling in each direction along the chain may differ and may not belong to the same sphere of exchange.

While relationships within a cluster are very intimate, those within a large chain may require delicate diplomacy. Yet a chain does not, in my experience, contain members who are actively hostile to one another. The exchange of cooked taro has to to with the maintenance of friendly relations, and collapses if serious conflict arises. The management of serious conflict requires different objects of mediation, such as pig meat, which will be discussed in the next chapter. 824

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REFERENCES

1 The propagation of the taro plant (*colocasia esculenta*) is illustrated in Fig. 7. 000

2 Waddell's survey excluded gifts to household members. This may explain informants' initial hesitance in mentioning them.

CHAPTER VII

PIGS

1. *Introduction*

262 While taro exchanges serve to maintain the basic social network used in
574 transactions, the pig is the most common object of mediation in critical
situations. Unlike taro, pig is not consumed as part of the ordinary diet, but is
431 commonly described as a 'feasting food'. As feasts are held only to mark a crisis
in social relations, it will be our task to investigate what makes pig meat specially
[146] suitable as a feasting food. One may, at the outset, answer this question with a
remark about the physiological properties of pig meat: as the Orokaiva diet
normally includes little first-class protein, any meal at which meat is served may
be expected to have a specially invigorating and exhilarating effect. But in the
present inquiry it does not suffice to give physiological explanations: our
problem is to discover how the exhilarating experience of eating meat becomes
symbolic and how it is magically utilised in the managing of social crises.

Pig meat is used both for the restoration of good relations after a quarrel or
estrangement and for the establishment of new social relations. As such it serves
[773] a function in widening the social network. This function is hinted at in the basic
pig myth about Totoima to which reference has been made earlier. When
Totoima was killed, the joints cut from his body were distributed far and wide
and caused all those groups who shared in it to multiply rapidly. This sharing
may thus be regarded as a kind of communion which implies both social
relations and the conferment of a blessing. Both these themes are strongly
present in all ceremonies where pig meat is shared.

431 But there is a second theme as well: there is in every gift of pig meat the
notion of a reparation, either for past services rendered or for past injuries
suffered, even though these injuries on some occasions may amount to no more
[773] than the lapsing of social contact. The Totoima of the myth, of course, was
guilty of many murders and his death was an occasion for dispelling many
grievances. Thus the gift of pig meat implies not only a communion but also an
expiation.

431 In treating pig as an object of mediation in exchange, I shall need to
demonstrate specifically that in certain respects a gift of pig resembles a
825 sacrifice. It must be shown that the offerer identifies with the pig that is given
away or sacrificed, and that there is a belief in the 'virtue' or magical power of
the sacrifice both in establishing a social link between sacrificer and human
beneficiary and in strengthening the spiritual state of the sacrificer himself.

[571] The data show that pig sacrifices may be regarded equally well as rites of
[789] communion and as rites of expiation. The key to their significance, however,

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

lies neither in communion nor in expiation, as they are essentially magical devices 431
to bring about a transformation in social relations with a partner.[1] 825

While this partner may on occasion be a close kinsman who is given a feast for 571
some special reason, he often has a rather distant position in the exchange
network of the donor, with whom commensality occurs only on rare occasions. 789
Not only do feasts tend to extend in this way the range of individual social
networks but they are especially apt to extend the range of social relations 574
existing between villages. Feasts are often given by one village to another, thus 571
leading to the establishment of at least one partnership between each household 628
of the host village and each household of the guest village.

The explanation of pig sacrifices requires an elaboration of my model of 182
exchange. The models used so far may be called *transactional*. One may
distinguish between positive transactional cycles (in which the two sides 431
exchange benefits mediated by gifts) and negative transactional cycles (in which 437
the two sides exchange sanctions mediated by penalties). In addition one may
construct *temporal* cycles, which may show the alternation between friendship
and anger, offence and repentance, mortification and forgiveness. A violation of
the exchange code will shift a relationship from a positive into a negative
transactional cycle, while a reconciliation feast will restore positive reciprocity.
The value of pig sacrifices lies in their power to set a relationship upon a course [182]
of positive exchanges where, previous to the sacrifice, the two sides were [574]
engaged in a mutually injurious exchange of sanctions.

This implies an assumption about the nature of social relations: namely that 628
they cannot be described as intrinsically positive or negative. One cannot divide
the Orokaiva social universe into concentric circles distinguishing between
permanently friendly and permanently hostile groups. The most one may do (if
one has data over a sufficient period) is to show that in the association between
villages A and B the cycles of negative reciprocity have been relatively short
while between villages A and C they have been relatively long. In this sense one
may call B a 'friendly' and C a 'hostile' village, and it may be expected that
inter-village feasts, in which pig sacrifices figure, will be more frequent between
A and B than between A and C.

This conceptualisation is not based on my own private theory of sociality, 829
but on the Orokaiva expressed belief that strife is a 'natural', i.e. *dema* established
consequence of social relations. This belief implies that any relationship will
tend to alternate between positive and negative cycles, primary kin relationships
not excepted. In *original time*, we find only positive cycles of reciprocity; strife
periodically engenders negative cycles, while pig sacrifices lead to the periodic
restoration of positive reciprocity.

2. *The Wild Pig: Marauder*

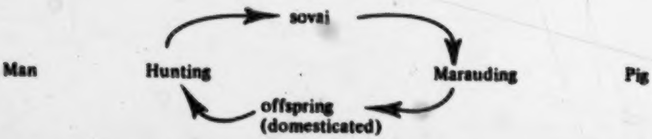
To the Orokaiva the wild pig is above all a troublesome enemy, as it attacks taro 825
crops in gardens and is liable to kill an unwary hunter. It lives in the jungle
where it is believed that ghosts (*sovai*) may enter its body. A pig inhabited by a [775]
sovai is especially dangerous and harmful to man. The ontology of the pig is
explained in a series of myths of which the following, recorded by Williams, 773
states its message most clearly: 539
825

231 distinguishes wild pigs from domestic ones. Once the spirits have been effectively
825 expelled, the piglet *thereby* becomes domesticated. This means that it obeys the
calls of its mother. It learns to forage in disused gardens but keeps away from
[789] growing taro. The piglet will not stray too far into the bush but comes home
[775] every night to be fed, and goes to sleep under the house.

Yet some danger of *sovai* contamination always remains. It may happen that
a village pig stays away in the bush and does not return when its mother calls.
The mother keeps on calling it from day to day, still hoping that it will return,
but after a fortnight or a month it is accepted that the pig has gone wild. Or else
it does return when the mother calls but returns to the bush as soon as it is fed.
[775] In all such cases people say that the spirits took the pig away and did not send it
back.

These facts suggest an exchange cycle arising out of the following four notions: (1) A man turns into a *sovai* upon death. (2) *Sovai* entering pigs maraud gardens and attack humans. (3) A pig is domesticated by the driving out of the *sovai*. (4) Meat from the domesticated pig provides man with the *ivo* (strength) he needs for hunting pig. (This *ivo* makes man a dangerous *sovai* after death.) This cycle may be expressed as follows:

MODEL 22



● 431 Live domesticated pigs are not used a great deal for the mediation of social
exchange. Certainly the rearing of pigs enters widely into the exchange of
231 prestations between the sexes, for it is a task women customarily perform for
[462] close kinsmen (husbands, brothers, sons). In addition it is not infrequent for
piglets to be given to relatives and friends from different villages whose wives
then rear them 'for the owner'. Salisbury (1962) noted a similar custom among
437 the Siane, but here the purpose was somewhat different. The Siane have feasts
at which 150–200 pigs are slaughtered. Here the recalling of lent pigs is an
231 essential prerequisite for the holding of a feast and, indeed, feasts on this scale
[171] would be impossible unless the task of rearing was distributed among several
villages. Orokaiva feasts involve far fewer pigs (seven, at a Hohorita feast, seemed
normal). Admittedly, lending pigs for rearing does have an obvious economic
advantage, similar to the one suggested by Salisbury: once the owner has lent a
piglet to a man from another village, he finds it easier to resist demands that will
be made from time to time by relatives who 'urgently' need a pig for purposes
too compelling to ignore.

Basically, however, this institution is just another way of mediating social exchange. By lending a man a piglet one starts a partnership. The partner does not usually return the pig he has reared but instead gives a piglet which will in turn be reared by the original donor. One might say that the offspring of the donated pig returns to its 'mother's' village. In this way the institution of

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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pig-lending becomes a simulation, on a minor scale, of the customs of marriage 437
exchange, where a reciprocating pair of groups send back and forth a female 231
marriage partner at intervals of one generation.

This assimilation of domesticated pigs to human members of exchanging 231
social groups is emphasised by much customary behaviour towards these pigs.
This behaviour goes beyond co-residence in the same house and the use of 825
kinship terms of reference, but extends to strict taboos of wide range prohibiting 602
the eating of domestic pigs by their rearers. 262

4. *Wild Pigs as Victims*

Williams (1930) describes in detail the techniques that are, or were, used for the 224
hunting of pigs: the use of spears, pig-traps, and the collective burning of *kunai* 825
grass to drive pigs towards their pursuers. I myself witnessed such a burn, in [411]
which three villages participated as owners of the burnt-over land (Inonda, Urio,
Musou) as well as some hunters from Ajoro. The myths explaining the origin of [773]
the various techniques of hunting and of cooking the meat do not enlighten us
greatly in the study of exchange, except to confirm a point already made in a previous chapter: the *dema* figure who is remembered as having 'given' a certain technique to mankind, is invariably described in the myth as the first *victim* of
that technique. The ritual of killing is a very simple one: it consists in calling out [614]
one's clan name before striking the fatal blow. This is supposed to give the hunter the strength (*ivo*) he needs in order to kill. Both killer and victim are thus symbolically identified with a primal ancestor.

The killer of a wild pig is not bound by the same ritual restrictions as the [262]
killer of either a man or a domestic pig. Williams states that he found no rule prohibiting a man from eating his personal quarry. Nonetheless, I found that in practice the meat of the wild pig virtually always serves some purpose of exchange-sale, barter or the mediating of social relations. The two wild pigs killed by Inonda men during the hunt to which I have already referred will serve as an example.

Killer A presented his pig to his mother's brother who lives in Ajoro. Killer B 224
presented his quarry to killer A, who is B's brother's wife's brother. A 825
distributed most of the joints to men and women from Inonda (including B),
and to two Ajoro men who had returned from the hunt empty-handed, but kept 571
one joint. A's mother's brother kept part of the animal he had been given but distributed the rest of it to his Inonda relatives, including A., as well as several affines. In the end everyone in Inonda had received some meat, but sometimes this meat had gone through several hands. For instance, A's sister did not receive meat from the animal her brother had killed, but from the animal her brother received as a present. Her brother gave several joints to B and it was from one of these joints A's sister was able to eat, because B gave it to his own brother who was A's sister's husband.

After this set of circuitous transactions the fires were lit. I noticed that only [252]
some of the meat was boiled but that most of it was smoked for later use. In fact
only a fraction of the two slaughtered pigs was eaten that night. The smoked [251]
meat was kept for a variety of transactions. In line with the modern trend, these [431]
included sale at the market, but there were also traditional prestations, e.g. a gift
[437]

224 to a man who had lent an ornament for a recent ceremony. I was told that meat
825 is sometimes kept for 'months' so it can be offered at a feast or used to discharge
an obligation. The housewife smokes the meat over the fire every day so that,
571 after a while, it becomes very 'strong'; the 'stronger' it is, the better.

[251] While the economic motivation in the final disposal of the joints is plain
[431] enough, it is less easy to understand the elaborate exchanges immediately
[437] following the killing. There are no taboos that could explain why these
exchanges were made. One might, of course, account for the whole series of gifts
in the same way as I accounted for the taro gifts made between close associates:
as a means of maintaining a quasi-commensal kind of social relationship. But
such an explanation obscures an important difference between gifts of taro and
pig meat, namely that gift taro is usually only a small part of the harvest, whereas
it appears to be regular practice (even though not supported by taboo) to give
[262] away *all* the meat of a pig one has killed. There is a strong, empirically
demonstrated, preference for eating pork that has been *given* rather than pork
that has been personally killed.

262 The essential difference between taro and pork, as perceived by the Orokaiva,
has already been discussed in a previous chapter. The difference is that taro is
regarded as a staple food to keep men alive, whereas pork is regarded as a food of
special power enabling men to succeed in tasks of great difficulty, in which
[778] success is always precarious. Pork has a special power or *ivo*. The reality of this
belief is obvious from field observation. Meat-eating arouses in the Orokaiva a
mood of extraordinary festivity and gaiety. After meat, he shows an exuberance
and excitement Westerners display only when they have drunk a good deal or are
'turned on' by mild drugs. While one can think of biochemical causes for the
Orokaiva behaviour, they explain this excitement themselves by referring to the
ivo or spiritual qualities of meat.

778 These beliefs do not, in themselves, explain why it is considered better for
262 meat to be given rather than consumed by the killer. They do, however, carry us
back to the myth – already considered in detail – by which Orokaiva explain
224 the origin of human *ivo*. *Ivo* was personified in Pig-man Totoima until his son
431 slew him and cut his body into pieces. These joints, shared out among men,
made the people multiply so that men are now spread throughout the world.
773 The important point to note in this myth is that *ivo* did not come from the mere
eating of the meat, but from the sharing out, following by the eating. If *ivo* is to
be attained, it has to be through the re-enactment of the myth, which means not
only the eating but also the sharing out. This sharing out is always done by
cutting a pig into the very same joints as those into which the dead Totoima was
dissected. Hence pork – whether derived from a wild or a domesticated pig – is
magically most effective if it is a gift.

5. *Domesticated Pig as Victim*

231 Pig meat provided at the more important ceremonies of the Orokaiva comes far
825 more frequently from domesticated than from wild pig. One reason for this is
obviously practical: the more important ceremonies require very intricate
planning in many spheres. The meat supply, which is a crucial requirement for
such ceremonies, cannot be left to chance, though wild pork can usually serve to

add lustre to a feast or to economise on domestic pig. Informants told me that 231 for most ceremonial purposes, wild and domestic pig are interchangeable. In 825 general, therefore, one may say that pigs are reared in order to provide a bigger and more dependable supply of pork. I was unable to discover any instance of a rule requiring *only* wild pig to be used for any kind of ceremony and declaring domesticated pig to be unsuitable. On the other hand certain ceremonial gifts of [583] pigs are made between affines, where a rule stipulates that the pig *must* have been reared by a particular person – the bridegroom's sister or the bride's mother. Such instances have to be carefully studied, as they indicate that the value of the meat transferred in the transaction may sometimes be derived partly from the labour expended by particular persons who reared the animals.

We have already pointed out that some rudimentary sacrificial notions enter 574 into a hunter's action towards his quarry, but it is only the killing of domestic 782 pigs that can be described as *sacrifice* in the full conventional sense of the term. Williams (1930: 61) applies this term to the slaughter of pigs but provides no analysis of the sacrificial process. Such analysis is not altogether straightforward, as the anthropological study of sacrifice has hitherto remained confined to the application of two models: one derived from Robertson Smith after the analogy of Christian *communion*, and the other derived from Mauss, (1968: 193–307) whose chief inspiration seems to have been the doctrine of *piaculum* among the Brâhmanas (viz. Mauss 1968: 352–4). The wide applicability of Robertson Smith's model has recently been well argued by Stanner (1960–3) and Bellah (1964), while Mauss' model has been enshrined by such brilliant ethnographic applications as Evans-Pritchard's study of *Nuer Religion* (1956).

These two models have a great deal in common, but differ in final destination of the victim and the postulated aim of the sacrifice. As Evans-Pritchard has pointed out (1956: 275), the aim may be to keep the god away or get rid of him (as in Nuer piacular sacrifice), or to establish union or fellowship with him (as in Christian communion, and in Australian *intichiuma*).

Neither model appears to be very appropriate to Orokaiva sacrifice, as it is not clear at all just who the god is to whom the sacrifice is being made. The only [776] divine agency that seems to appear in pig sacrifices, including the major feasts, are spirits, loosely described as belonging to the 'ancestors'. These do not appear to be specific personalised ancestors but seem to be identified with the demigod, or *dema* who instituted the feast, as well as with other *dema* who introduced the various products used at the feast as gifts, ornaments and the like, as well as with clan and lineage ancestors who are responsible for the well-being of the land. A big feast seems to involve the whole pantheon. If this were all, one could classify Orokaiva sacrifice as aiming definitely at communion, as the ritual preceding the feast and during the feast quite clearly has the effect of drawing the divine beings down into the village, and making them enter the persons of the celebrants who behave as though they are possessed by these spirits.

But in addition one must often regard the sacrifices as being made, in a very [431] real sense, to the guests. There are of course pig sacrifices where communion with the god is the only or predominant purpose. For instance, it is customary [437] to sacrifice a pig when new taro fields are prepared for planting and the flesh is shared between the men of the local clan group. Here the purpose is no doubt to bring about an identification of the men with the original ancestor who first

574 successfully cultivated that land, and at the same time no doubt with *dema*
782 figures who instituted agriculture. But most sacrifices have to do with social
relations that are either being entered into or that are being restored after a
431 period of hostility. In all such cases the sacrificed pig serves as a gift object to
437 the persons whose friendship is being sought. These persons may be clansmen,
uterine kin, affines, bond-friends, trading partners, or persons who have rendered
[572] important ritual services.

An exhaustive list of examples of such sacrifices, very often involving only
578 one pig and a rather minor ceremony, cannot be given. If a person has broken
431 off social relations with a close relative in anger, by showing this relative his
plant emblem, then relations can be restored only if the angry man is persuaded
571 to 'throw his plant emblem away'. If he does this, the person to whom the plant
825 emblem has been shown will sacrifice a pig. Again, if a man feels that he has
[824] neglected a fellow clansman for an unduly long time, he will end the
estrangement by offering up a pig. A pig may be sacrificed to mark any
reconciliation after a quarrel. The sacrificer in such a case appears to admit his
[754] own guilt and to restore a wrong done to the other person. Very often such a
reconciliation follows a misfortune attributed to sorcery. The medicine man will determine, if the sufferer does not already know, who has caused the sorcery to be performed. It is then considered highly important to arrange a reconciliation with the person responsible for the sorcery. This person is not infrequently a close relative, such as a father's sister or mother's sister. The sufferer will offer up a pig if the dangerous relative is willing to forgive and forget. Sacrifices are also required when a person has violated a taboo, e.g. quarrelled in the presence of a cross-cousin or affine. In all such cases a feast will be held at which the wronged person receives the sacrificial beast.

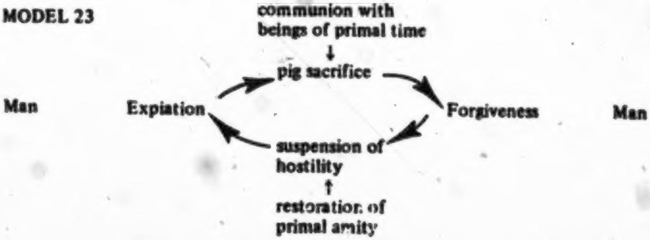
The same pattern may be found in the larger ceremonies. I shall show in a
later chapter that the various prestations rendered between affines can be viewed
as propitiatory gifts made to allay anger at the wrong done by the other party.
This is certainly true for the gifts made on various occasions by the husband, the
628 husband's sister, etc. to the wife's relatives. Feasts given on the occasion of
728 peace-making, or on other occasions where whole villages are invited can likewise
be shown to have as their prime purpose the ending of strife. In all such cases the
574 sacrifice of pigs is preliminary to their utilisation for the mediation of social
exchange.

This pattern does not appear quite consistent with the communion model of sacrifice. Not only is there no rule that the offerers of the sacrifice should eat of the victim; on the contrary, we shall see that they are strictly forbidden to eat of it. The guests carry all the meat away with them and distribute it among their own group. One almost feels that the expiatory model might be applicable: the offerers of the sacrifice define themselves as offenders, they expiate their wrong-doing by sacrifice, the flesh of the victim becomes taboo to them.

782 The contradiction disappears if we regard communion with the god not
purely as the ultimate end of sacrifice but also (and simultaneously) as the
571 means to the mediation of a social relationship. I am suggesting that the
574 Orokaiva believe that the killing and offering of a pig is not *in itself* sufficient to
initiate or restore a social relationship: it is also necessary to make the offering
431 in a properly ritual manner. The ritual involves the establishment of communion

with divine beings. One might say with equal truth that the purpose of 782
communion is expiation and that the purpose of expiation is communion. The 571
transaction may be expressed in the following diagram:
574
431 ●

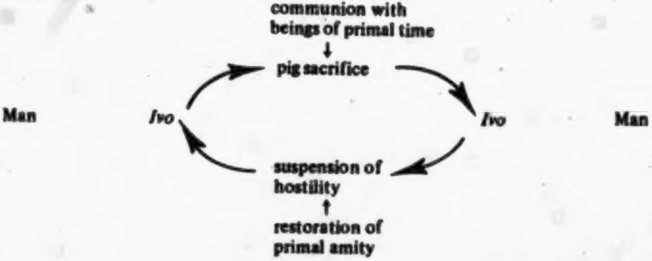
MODEL 23


communion with
beings of primal time
pig sacrifice
Man
Expiation
Forgiveness
Man
suspension of
hostility
restoration of
primal amity

In this model the object of exchange is clearly expiation. Expiation is mediated by a ritual feast through which all participants identify themselves with beings of primal time and therefore with a period when strife had not become established. This identification is established in the first place by the offender's group which makes the sacrifice. It induces the offended party to participate in the feast and thereby signal its willingness, at least in principle, to suspend hostilities. The purpose of identification is therefore the expiation of offences.

In order to account for the rule that the meat is carried away by the offended party and that it is taboo to the offenders, we need to construct a second diagram, as follows:

MODEL 24

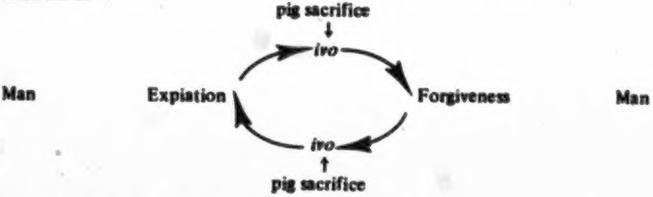

communion with
beings of primal time
pig sacrifice
Man
Ivo
Ivo
Man
suspension of
hostility
restoration of
primal amity

In this model the object of exchange is *ivo* which each group confers upon
the other. The exchange is mediated by a pig sacrifice which, according to the [778]
Totoima myth, effectively bestows *ivo* upon the guests, *provided* that they carry
the meat away with them, and also upon the hosts, *provided* that the guests [754]
remove the debilitating influence of any deleterious magic they may have
directed at the hosts at an earlier time. One may say here that the purpose of

782 sacrifice is a communion, as the obtaining of *ivo* is ultimately dependent upon an
574 effective identification of man with the power-conferring ancestors.

Models 23 and 24 may be reduced to a single one which shows the essence of
571 the whole transaction:

431 MODEL 25



571 This model, which is on a more abstract level than the previous two, states
778 that two parties standing in a relation of social opposition can establish or
restore friendly association with one another through the *mediation* of *ivo* (the source of *ivo* being the pig sacrifices). This is the essential equation of social exchange. *Ivo* cannot be obtained by the offerers of sacrifice acting alone, but it is necessary and sufficient for efficacy if two parties participate, one in the role of offerer and another in the role of recipient. The roles of 'offender' and 'offended' are ritual roles in which the actual amount of guilt or shame felt varies widely according to circumstances. The assumption of such roles is made
[828] necessary because strife has a continuously debilitating effect on man's *ivo*. Like many other peoples (viz. Monica Wilson 1952: 99–112; 1959: 161, 165, 217; Burridge 1969), the Orokaiva believe that 'anger in the heart' weakens the man who feels it. But the Orokaiva emphasise even more the obligation of the offender to assuage that anger, however caused. Actual misfortunes are mostly explained by anger existing in someone else's heart. The guilty person is deemed to be he who, after being made aware of this anger, does nothing to remove it. If the angry person uses sorcery or does some other harm it is not he but the victim
[574] of retribution who should feel guilty. The oozing away of *ivo* as a result of strife can be reversed by the holding of pig-feasts at which the host goes through a ritual which contains elements of both communion and expiation, but which essentially serves the mediation of social exchange.

121 I shall now test the usefulness of this model by using it to account for some
128 empirical facts related to Orokaiva pig sacrifice. I shall discuss, because of the relative wealth of available material, the sacrifices made at inter-village feasts at the time of the main harvest. I shall also show how gifts made between affines may be interpreted with the help of the model.

6. *Expiation and Communion in Feasting*

574 The decision to hold a feast might arise in two ways. First, there might be an
[628] urgent need to offer the feast to a specific outside group, e.g. to make peace, or
[556] return a feast to which the group had been invited. Secondly, there might be a

574 621 244 The first plans for a feast are laid at least one year in advance, as it involves extra plantings of taro as well as economising on pigs. By the end of December, the feast taro ought to have finished flowering and the tubers ought to have formed. It is only then that the chances of an abundant harvest can be reasonably assessed. The feast-giver stealthily tours the village gardens to see whether the taro are 'ready', collecting tubers in gardens where tubers have formed and collecting flowers in those gardens which are lagging behind. He hides these specimens in his house. If his examination has been successful, he calls a meeting attended by all the men of the village (but not the women) at which the assembled people formally acknowledge that they are planning a feast. The leader will display the taro and the flowers he has collected, thus demonstrating visibly whose gardens will and will not be able to contribute food to the feast. The meeting decides who will be invited to the feast. The men share the meat of an animal, traditionally a pig, but nowadays often a rooster.

[773] This ritual is clearly intended to remove obstacles that might prevent harmonious social relations from being established at the feast. I have already discussed[5] a myth which contained a charter for this custom of examining the gardens: it told the story of a food shortage which caused a quarrel and concluded with the enunciation by a *dema* of a rule that feasts should in future be held only in times of abundance. It is not sufficient, of course, for the people to say and to believe that there will be abundance. Abundance must be established ritually so as to be placed beyond human dispute.

574 621 [554] The pig sacrifice at this meeting serves to remove any latent hostility between the men of the group, so that all will be united and co-operate unreservedly towards the success of the feast. Though the *pondo kiari embo* tends to be a man of much influence in the village, he does not normally have any authority over resources held by any extended family other than his own. It is only for the specific purpose of feast-giving that he is given such authority, and it is limited in time from the meeting just described until the day of the feast itself. [422] [425] The meeting thus temporarily changes the authority structure of the village. The growing taro crop and the available pigs become, at least ideally, the corporate property of the village, whereas normally they are family property. The *pondo kiari embo* becomes, at least formally and ritually, the controller of this property. The unit of the group of offerers of the sacrifice is a necessary condition for the success of the rituals that follow.

621 574 431 276 562 The same principle underlies one detail of the ritual taro display to which I have not yet made reference. At the meeting 'special betelnuts' (I do not know just what medicine is used on them) are distributed by the feast-giver to be shared, after the meeting, between the men and their wives. The men are to ask their wives whether the taro are ready. This is a ritual question, as the men go to the garden daily, but it is the women who are supposed to have charge of growing taro and – in a ritual sense – the men therefore do not know. After receiving an answer to this question, the husband will share the 'special' betelnut with his wife. While the enacting of this ritual would make even the most slow-witted of women aware of what is afoot, the women should still supposedly remain ignorant of the plan to hold a feast. Informants readily admit that this ignorance is a fiction. The significance of the shared betelnut is to provide against the anger a wife might feel when the taro harvest over which she has ritual control is

incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a 621
twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore 574
specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of
friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are 431
re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the 276
removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the 562
feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the 574
form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to
come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikari*. The men begin to build 628
the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern [431]
houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of
ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of [345]
modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the
Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams
1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual [776]
task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of
sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men [787]
participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For
these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though [535]
informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at [534]
Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated
(as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is [533]
also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a 574
psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little 796
agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that
virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are 292
to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually
makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is [825]
a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an
embahi – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show [881]
fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may
at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The [533]
curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

571 602 518 754 conflict, necessarily precede recourse to sorcery. It is believed, however, that such relatives will not usually carry their resentment too far. As soon as the afflicted person makes his apologies and shows himself ready to make a pig sacrifice, such sorcery will normally case. The same applies to the father's sister, though she has to be watched more carefully than the others, as she is very quick to resent neglect and seek retribution. She will be restrained, however, by the deep love she is expected to bear for her brother, so that she may be expected to agree fairly easily to a settlement. It is thought that mother's sisters are more dangerous as their bonds of family loyalty are much weaker. All these relatives [431] may cause disease, failure of gardens, bad luck in hunting, etc. All the relationships give rise to the same type of positive and negative reciprocity cycles: if proper prestations are made from time to time, positive reciprocity is maintained, but neglect over a long period will create anger and a negative reciprocity cycle.[5]

In the case of certain close relationships, restraint in acts of negative reciprocity does not arise from any rules limiting the expression of anger, but rather from the existence of other close social relationships which would be threatened if the expression of anger went too far. Thus a mother's brother would be restrained in wreaking revenge upon his nephew by the risk of offending his sister if the revenge were excessive. It is hard to illustrate these principles of exchange with concrete evidence, as I do not know of any actual harm being done between relatives. I know only that misfortunes which I would ascribe to natural causes tend to be explained by sorcery on the part of a neglected relative, and that the neglected relative then asks for or receives a pig or other animal.

571 579 602 583 Prestations between affines have a similar explanation, though the pattern of hostile action and retaliation between affines is somewhat different. The first hostile action in the series tends to be the abduction of a woman for purposes of marriage. This is defined as a hostile act directed against the woman's kin group. The girl's parents look for her and show considerable fury when they find her, wreaking havoc in the village of the abductor. One may say that this is the first cycle of exchange in an affinal relationship and it is totally negative. The abductor's kin group offers a present of ornaments called *sovu hambo*, and promises a bridewealth of acceptable proportions in return for which the bride's parents depart in peace.

It should be noted that, though this second cycle contains an exchange of positive (rather than negative) objects of mediation, the bridegroom's people remain in the position of debtors, while the bride's parents continue to harbour their anger. All they have agreed to is the continued residence of the bride with the bridegroom's people, pending a satisfactory settlement. The third cycle is constituted by the payment of bridewealth, including pig sacrifices, on one side, and the transfer of the usual conjugal rights, including the right to the bride's offspring, by the bride's kin group. On the level of social exchange, however, there is still no exchange in benefits. The relationship remains one between creditor and debtor, as the bridewealth does not wipe out the anger of the bride's parents nor expiate the offence of abduction. This point will be explained further in the chapter on marriage.

It suffices to say at this stage that pig sacrifices made by the bridegroom and

CHAPTER VIII

COCONUT AND BETELNUT

1. *Theoretical Intermezzo*

We have discussed throughout this work the belief that crises in social relations 571 are resolved by magic. In the last chapter we showed explicitly that this is the view expressed in the Orokaiva folk model of exchange (model 25).^A 578 There are two implications in this folk model: that magical power (*ivo*) is required to 778 establish social relations and that social relations have the effect of generating *ivo* for those who establish them. The objection that may be advanced against 121 this approach is its subjectivity. One may call it a phenomenological approach, as it is based on *ego*'s experience of *alter*'s world as transcendant (see Schutz 1967: 312–29). One may also call it the approach of Marcel Mauss (1966), who explained exchange by a magical construction he called *hau*. It may be argued that it has some resemblance with Sartre's philosophy (1960), where the opposition between *ego* and *alter* is transcended by a 'dialectical process' or 'praxis'. Here again no interdependence of *ego* and *alter* is deemed to exist prior to a course of action inaugurated by *ego* and serving to transcend the opposition.

Against all these theories, Lévi-Strauss has argued that exchange is logically prior to giving, receiving and giving in return. In his theory, unconscious mental structures not only determine that man should order his universe by means of systems of binary oppositions, but also that these oppositions should be transcended by syntheses. Exchange, and any form of communication, is a synthesis where things are perceived simultaneously from the viewpoint of self and other and destined by nature to pass from the one to the other. The situation that they *belong to* the one or the other arises out of initial relational characteristics (Lévi-Strauss 1966: xlvi).

The evidence quoted for these unconscious mental structures is mainly 431 ● linguistic: the Papuans and Melanesians have only one word for sale and 437 purchase, lending and borrowing, which shows that contradictions between these terms must be illusory. If we survey the Orokaiva data reported in previous [192] chapters, we notice that in general objects of mediation are similarly 'destined by nature' to pass from one partner to another. Meat, for instance, is magically effective only or predominantly if it is received as a gift. One may say that pigs are a family's gift-children: they are part of the family but it is their destiny to be given away. From birth, they may be said to 'belong' to some exchange partner. In fact, in my whole discussion on mediation, I stressed that the donor must be identified with the object of mediation and that, for the exchange relation to be effective, the recipient should also identify with it. I pointed out

A [See Cat. 571, p. 148--Analyst]

431 437 that such identification could be achieved only if there is a starting mechanism, in the form of a mythical charter, which defines the object as having the magical qualities that will enable it to act as mediator.

It must be admitted, however, that this mythical charter is logically prior to
121 the social relation *only in the view of the indigenous culture* and that its logical status is no higher than *hau, mana, ivo* or any other mystical concept of the type Lévi-Strauss rejects as 'verbose phenomenology'. How can we meet this criticism? If we are to follow Lévi-Strauss' prescription, we have to turn to the largely unconscious categories of Orokaiva 'symbolic thought', i.e. the basic binary oppositions discovered in the culture by structural analysis. We have already, from the preceding chapters, some idea what the basic Orokaiva oppositions would be. We have noticed, especially, the importance of the male and female principle: most other binary oppositions we have found are related to this. The bush is classified as belonging to the male, the garden to the female; the wild pig to the male, taro to the female. Gifts of raw food are male, of cooked food female. Killing is the province of the male, nurture of the female.

Now such oppositions belong to 'symbolic thought', as Lévi-Strauss uses the term, precisely because of the kind of evidence I have brought forward in preceding chapters: it is the symbolic exchange relations holding between male and female, bush and garden, pig and taro, etc., that give them the status of binary oppositions in the structural analysis of Orokaiva culture. The difference between Lévi-Strauss' approach and my own does not lie so much in his and my use of binary oppositions as in my use of an exchange model in which the magical aspect of mediation is emphasised. For instance, my model 22 contains two binary oppositions: Man as Hunter/Pig as Marauder; and *Sovai*/Domesticated Pig. Both of these could, I think, be accommodated as part of a 'structural analysis' of Orokaiva culture. When I connect these two binary oppositions with arrows showing an exchange transaction distinguishing partners and objects of exchange and elements of mediation, I am introducing a 'subjectivist' element which is alien to structural analysis. I am showing a concern for the study of transactions, dialectical process, praxis, or perhaps Mauss' concept of *hau*. From a structuralist viewpoint, my arrows are entirely unnecessary as the exchange process is a prior condition of binary oppositions and has no place on the level of the model except as a logical operator (usually the symbol: /).

Now one problem with structural analysis is always at what point one should stop. Certainly analysis may reveal a great deal about the workings of symbolism in culture as it reduces social relations to exchange, exchange to symbolic thought and finally, in Lévi-Strauss' *Mythologiques* (1964, 1966, 1968) symbolic thought to computer signals. As Simonis (1968: 311) has wisely pointed out, at the final stage we move from a science of man to the logic of aesthetic perception. I think we should stop at the point most expedient for our own investigation. It is not useful in a study of Orokaiva exchange to carry on the analysis until exchange is reduced to the status of a logical operator. On the other hand, if in the manner of the phenomenologists we 'bracket' the logical priority of exchange, we find ourselves in difficulties when the folk system itself contains the type of dialectical reasoning upon which Lévi-Strauss founds his own theory. This is the problem with which we shall be concerned in the present chapter.

[121] We shall need to consider exchange from two points of view: first, as in the preceding chapters, we may consider it phenomenologically, from the viewpoint of the transactional polarity of the exchange partners; secondly, we may consider it from the viewpoint of symbolic thought, as something like the dialogue between *Yin* and *Yang*, as the product of Orokaiva intelligence reflecting upon affective experience.[1] It is this second approach which will be appropriate for much of our discussion about the remarkable Orokaiva myth of the coconut and the betelnut.

2. *The Minor Foods: Objects of Mediation and Paired Symbols*

824 772 [245] [249] Although this chapter will deal mainly with the coconut and betelnut, it will be useful first to set this couple into a wider ecological and cultural context. Coconut and betelnut have been chosen for detailed treatment out of a large number of minor foods of the Orokaiva, many of which have their special importance as objects of mediation. An interesting aspect of these minor foods is that Orokaiva symbolic thought arranges them in couples to which a male/female opposition is usually ascribed. Very often these plant couples are grown in close association with one another and it is claimed that they will not prosper unless they are planted together and that, in their wild state, they are also found together. The symbolic association of these pairs of plants may be based on any of a number of shared characteristics: the similar outward appearance of the fruit, a coincidence in the time of fruiting, a similarity in culinary use, in taste, in supposed physiological effects of the fruit when eaten. Sometimes the pair of plants are linked in ritual use and in a common myth.

Among examples of this pairing tendency that may be quoted are two varieties of breadfruit, called *oga* and *eumba*; two condiments important in initiation ritual: the *puga* nut and the salt vine *hoe*; the yam and a red fruit called *hamesi*. The coconut (*vu*) and betelnut or *areca* (*sa*) are similarly a pair of subsidiary foods between which there are important points of resemblance which led to their being paired together, and important points of difference which led one of them to be classified as male and the other as female.

[245] [249] [262] [276] [431] [764] [773] Coconut and betelnut are planted together in villages and also in gardens. Both nuts are eaten raw, young coconuts for refreshment, *areca* for relaxation, and both are consumed between meals. Both nuts grow on palms. Both foods have notable (though different) biochemical effects on those who eat them. Both foods are standard gifts made to strangers who visit a village, a coconut being offered as refreshment immediately upon arrival while betelnut is chewed (along with *hingi* pepper and lime) during the conversation. The two nuts are also associated in ritual use. At mortuary feasts, the most important gift objects are large quantities of betelnuts and coconuts harvested from the palms of the deceased, while dry coconut and betelnut are strewn on graves by affines of the deceased. Finally, coconut and betelnut are associated in an important myth which I intend to discuss in detail.

[439] In studying plant couples such as coconut and betelnut two aspects of exchange need to be considered: first, exchanges between persons in which the food products appear as objects of mediation and secondly, mythical exchanges between the male and female plant, where the two plants appear as exchange

824 partners, while objects of mediation are not imaginary and magical, but have a real
772 existence. I shall deal with these two aspects in turn.

3. *Coconut as an Object of Mediation*

824 Coconut has several culinary uses: it is eaten raw; soup is made of the flesh; the
[252] squeezed flesh produces coconut cream in which taro and delicacies such as river
crabs may be cooked. Young coconuts are cut open at the top and used for a
[262] refreshing drink. Coconut is reserved for two kinds of everyday food gift:
[272] cooked dishes offered to guests and young coconut offered to visitors on arrival.
[431] Waddell's figures for coconut transactions are surprisingly low (less than 1 lb. per
week disposed of in an average household). In Inonda, where the climate favours
the coconut, there has been sporadic commercial exploitation of the nut.

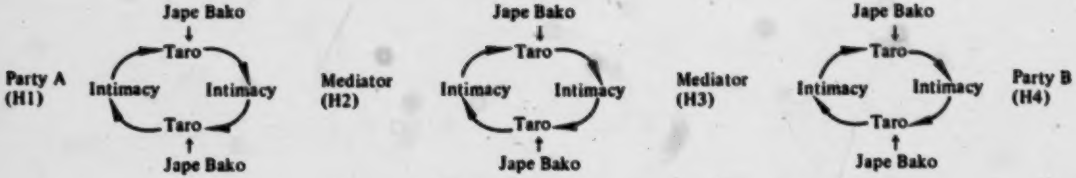
[574] Coconuts are also a feasting food. At ordinary harvest feasts and bridewealth
payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other
[262] vegetables. Williams (1930: 44) reports that they used to be placed under a
taboo when a large feast was pending. I have already mentioned that at mortuary
[764] feasts they are the principal object of mediation between the plant emblem
group of the deceased and the village which has provided services to the deceased
at the time of death (See Williams 1930: 223–6). I saw a variant of this
ceremony at Hohorita in 1967. The plant emblem groups of the deceased couple
provided massive gifts displayed on a platform: feast taro, tins of fish, cartons of
flour, corned beef in tins, sugar-cane, pots of cooked vegetable food, small bags
of salt, smoked meat, a dead pig suspended from a stick, rice, bread, an
abundance of betelnut and carved taro suspended from horizontal poles placed
above the platform, while at least 1000 lbs. of coconuts, strung to poles
supporting each other diagonally, were seen everywhere among the other gifts.

[262] Coconut is correctly believed to be a valuable adjunct to children's diet, as it
[146] provides first-class protein. The belief is explained by Orokaiva in a myth quoted
by Williams (1928: 122) according to which the first child ever to eat a coconut
grew miraculously overnight. Children do eat a good deal of it and it is also fed
[231] regularly to dogs and chickens. Orokaiva also regard the effects of coconuts on
[235] dogs as miraculous. As neither dogs nor children have any other substantial
supply of first-class protein, the coconut relieves a very real diet deficiency.
Whatever religious significance is given to the coconut is related to this.

824 Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body, not only to enhance
beauty but also for its magical efficacy. In a ritual performed over a man-slayer,
778 a coconut was broken over his head as a purificatory and 'defensive' device in
[302] the sense that the fluid would drive away dangerous spirits (1930: 175). With
the same end in view, the bodies of female initiands and certain ornaments worn
[789] at dances are rubbed with coconut oil (1930: 207). It would appear, in view of
this evidence, that the coconut is in general identified with *ivo* communicated by
[881] the dead to the living. The coconuts of a dead leader are thought to contain his
ivo in a form which is communicable, not to his kinsmen to whom these
[761] coconuts are taboo, but particularly to his affines. The quoted ritual uses of the
coconut are all associated with some contact with the world of death, i.e. critical
situations in which the living have been in contact with death and need the help
[764] of the dead to obtain *ivo*. While this *ivo* is communicated, through the mediation

824
431
621

MODEL 20


Jape Bako
Taro
Party A
(H1)
Intimacy
Intimacy
Taro
Jape Bako
Mediator
(H2)
Jape Bako
Taro
Intimacy
Intimacy
Taro
Jape Bako
Mediator
(H3)
Jape Bako
Taro
Intimacy
Intimacy
Taro
Jape Bako
Party B
(H4)

because of the dangers he fears from contact with the female. By offering 824
betelnut, woman overcomes this reluctance in man and draws him into the 276
sexual exchange she desires.

5. *The Myth of Coconut and Betelnut*

Though we have now summarised the exchange cycles mediated by coconut and 121
betelnut, we have not shown why these objects of mediation are considered to be efficacious in exchange. In past chapters we have explained efficacity in terms of indigenous philosophy. Indigenous logic generally relies on a myth in which a specific precept is either explicitly stated or implied. By giving this precept the status of an axiom, we can show by logical deduction that a thing (land, taro, pig, etc.) can have potency as an object of mediation in certain transactions.[2]

This kind of explanation of mediation draws on mythical sources much in the same way as Malinowski. Malinowski held that the 'function' of a myth is the charter it provides for customary rules. I can see no objection to this approach as long as we can be sure, from independent evidence, that charter and custom really coincide, which is not always the case, and as long as we check carefully how informants perform the logical deduction. If charter and custom do not coincide, we need to go beyond Malinowski's techniques of myth analysis and seek out the message by decoding the symbolic language of the myth. The betelnut myth already quoted provides an instance of discrepancy between myth
and custom.[3] According to the myth it is the man who gives betelnut to the [824]
woman, whereas we know that in girls' initiation ritual and in courting custom, [431]
i.e. in the most structured betelnut presentations, the *woman* plays the role of
donor and the plant is classified as feminine. [773]

Such a discrepancy might easily be dismissed as too trivial for investigation but for the fact that it seems to be related to the disagreement between Mauss and Lévi-Strauss to which I referred earlier in this chapter. Mauss' theory of the gift would not easily explain this type of reversal, which would serve as a useful corroboration of Lévi-Strauss' contention that the 'contradiction' in the donor-recipient relationship may be illusory. I am not suggesting that his theory can be proved by empirical evidence, but only that it can be corroborated if we find evidence that Orokaiva informants do not treat exchange as purely magical, but recognise its synthetic character in their reasoning about myth, ritual and rules of behaviour.

The beginning of the myth to be discussed here is well-known; I was told it 773
several times and Williams also recorded it (1928: 122). Here follows a summary
of a version I collected on tape in the Orokaiva language: A beautiful girl, noted 824
for her remarkable breasts, has the misfortune to kill all the young men with 539
whom she sleeps. Her breasts prick and kill them. She warns them to sleep [126]
against her back but they never follow this advice. The girl's brother becomes concerned and tells her that he personally will choose her next sleeping partner. He chooses his own *dambo*, i.e. his wife's brother. He tells his *dambo*:

> Because mistakes were made other bachelors have died, but, my *dambo*, my true *dambo*, she is going to sleep; she is going up to bed. Therefore see that all is properly prepared and the bed is properly made for sleeping.

CHAPTER IX

ORNAMENTS

1. *Introduction*

Exchanges mediated by ornaments may be studied in very much the same 121
way as those mediated by coconut and betelnut. This means that (1) ornaments
may serve as symbols of identity; (2) this symbolic quality attached to
ornaments makes them suitable to serve as objects of mediation.

A symbol of identity, in the sense intended here, is an object which, if shown 524
or given to another person, reveals the identity of its owner. A plant emblem is,
in this sense, a symbol of identity, as anyone who sees it lying on the path
knows the identity of the person who put it there. More specifically, the finder
of the plant emblem knows that the person who dropped it is a member of a
specific group which has the right to use this emblem and which is identified
with it. Identity, in this instance,[1] is not defined as attached to an individual but [571]
rather as attached to a class, and the individual who uses the plant emblem is
stating his membership of that class. Furthermore, identity in this sense must
always have been *received from* someone. Membership in a plant emblem group
is conferred by a father or mother. It is not a gift but an automatic result of
filiation. As such it is symbolic of the system of rules governing co-operation
within the corporate group.

An ornament may be ceremonially conferred upon a person who will 301
henceforth regard it, in the same sense, as a symbol of identity. The ornament is 431
then called an *otohu*, a term to be defined later. It is worn by its owner and
those who see it recognise it as a symbol of its owner's moral integrity. It 571
indicates that the owner has pledged to act in accordance with a historically established behaviour model. Therefore, in this instance again, identity is not defined as attached to an individual but rather as attached to a class of persons who follow this behaviour model. Furthermore, again, identity in this sense must always have been received from someone. It is not conferred necessarily by the wearer's father, but may come from any other male consanguine (or even affine) of the ascending generation. It is not conferred automatically; there is no rule saying that it should be conferred and it is not conferred upon everyone. The *otohu* is, in fact, always a gift. As such it is symbolic of a pledge made by the wearer that he regards himself as bound by the system of rules governing exchange between other corporate groups and his own.

Although it is usual for persons to own more than one ornament, I have not heard of any owning more than one *otohu*. The *otohu* is distinguished from other ornaments (*hambo*) by the addition of some special feature which constitutes its mark of identity. *Otohu* are not given away except in special

301 431 571 ceremonial circumstances, but *hambo* are freely exchanged between partners. All the characteristics already described of such objects of mediation as land, taro and pigs probably apply equally to *hambo*, though my evidence on this point is far less complete, due to the very large number of magical substances that enter into the construction of *hambo*. They are not, however, symbols of identity.

301 824 431 571 On a functional level, one may regard the *otohu* after the analogy of a membership badge to some association or even a credit card. It indicates to others that they can safely carry on transactions with the bearer. On a structural level, the two types of identity symbol – the plant emblem or *hae* and the *otohu* – constitute, in combination and in their interrelation, the reality of the entire Orokaiva social system. This system is dominated by two principles: corporate groups bound to a system of rules governing their co-operation and a system of exchange between corporate groups on which they depend for vital benefits. The *hae* symbolises membership of the corporate group whereas the *otohu* symbolises participation in the system of exchange. There are several significant symbolic contrasts: the *hae* is a natural object (usually a plant), never given or lent to anyone, deposited as a sign to members of the corporate group that corporate rights have been used by the depositor, but never openly shown except to signal anger felt towards members of the corporate group and a resolve to break the relationship. In contrast the *otohu* is a cultural object, lent to relatives who are entitled to wear it, but otherwise never deposited or transferred, and always shown conspicuously by the owner when he contemplates transactions outside the corporate group.

While a *hae* is transmitted automatically, the conferring of the *otohu* is an important ceremony that will be discussed in detail in this chapter. This discussion will be followed by a summary of the available evidence on the use of *hambo* (other than *otohu*) as objects of mediation in social exchange.

2. *The Nature of Otohu Ornaments*

301 [437] [237] Most ornaments are acquired by hunting, foraging, barter, purchase or inheritance. These may be regarded purely as decorations (*di* or *hambo*) and there are no restrictions on who may make or wear such ornaments, which are freely disposed of by barter or sale. The *otohu* is not distinguishable from other *hambo* except on the basis of specific knowledge of local practice. Some families have a particular shell which is their *otohu*, others may use a particular arrangement of hornbill beaks. Others again may have a special way of decorating armlets of white cuscus (*nauri*). There are many very beautiful and elaborate *hambo* which are not *otohu* and other much simpler ornaments which are *otohu*. Where large shells are *otohu* these are worn by themselves, on the chest or suspended on the side of the owner's betelnut bag. Other *otohu* are added to what would otherwise be an ordinary *hambo*: it is the addition of the *otohu* object which makes a *hambo* into an *otohu*.

In the earliest literature on the *otohu* it was regarded as an 'homicidal emblem'. Beaver (1920) reported that a man-slayer, having undergone some form of purification or exorcism, might at some convenient time receive his *otohu*. He gave two lists of objects that were supposedly so used, one for the coastal and central tribes (eight items) and one for the Wasida and trans-Kumusi tribes (twelve items), including in his list many *hambo* still in common use. 301 Williams (1930) criticised this account on two grounds: some kinds of *otohu* 881 were regularly conferred upon boys and girls at initiation before they had killed anyone, and most of the items listed by Beaver were in fact conferred on such occasions. While Williams did not rule out the use of homicidal emblems, he thought they should be called *esa* rather than *otohu* and provided a short list of such *esa*, i.e. ornaments given exclusively to man-slayers or to men who had slain a wild pig and presented it to the donor of the *esa*.

Williams reserves the term *otohu* for ritual objects used as symbols for ethical notions central to the Orokaiva world view. He thinks that the *otohu* is best understood in the context of boys' and girls' initiation, as conferment most often occurs at the conclusion of initiation ceremonies. In this chapter I shall first summarise Williams' description of the transfer of *otohu* in initiation, and proceed to add some new information which may lead to a clearer understanding of the nature of the *otohu*.

3. *Williams' Account of the Conferment of Otohu*

Orokaiva initiation ceremonies include four main rituals which are, as Williams 881 reports, not always performed in the same order, but the one ceremony he witnessed occurred in the same order as those described to me by informants:

(1) First, initiands are kept in seclusion for some months. Living in a separate house in semi-darkness, they are well-fed, kept warm with a fire, but must not wash. Williams rightly discounts Chinnery and Beaver's account (1915) that initiands are given detailed instruction of a moral nature at this stage. This was denied by my own informants who had themselves been initiated.

(2) A nocturnal dance occurs during which spirits (*embahi*) appear from the bush, assail and frighten the initiands, but are driven off by the initiands' relatives. Chinnery and Beaver (1915) plausibly suggest that this ferocious scene serves the function of instilling 'absolute and lasting terror in the candidates', of obligating them to their relatives who saved them, and of inducing in them 'a receptive and chastened frame of mind' for the instruction that is to follow. The scene is graphically described by Williams.

(3) The next morning initiands are, for the first time in their lives, dressed [535] up in full dancing regalia, after which they make an impressive début at the village dancing ground. The ritual is known as *kogumbari*. It is performed by an [292] expert whose main concern seems to be with the aesthetics of dressing up, and who lends the initiands feathers and ornaments from his own large store. He [301] stands in no particular kin relationship to the initiand and may even be from a different village. (Fathers are excluded.)

(4) If there is a presentation of *otohu* to initiates[2] this is not part of the [431] initiation ritual as such, which occurs immediately after *kogumbari*. The dressed up initiates are 'shown to the people' and take part in a dance called *kuru*, which [301] is described by Williams (1930: 188). The presentation follows this dance.

It begins with a series of speeches by old warriors (*aguma*) who recite their 881 feats of war, their killing of victims. Initiates sit on a row of sticks laid on the 301 ground ('lest through contact with the ground they run the risk of physical deformity'). The donor of the *otohu* (most often the father or mother's brother) [729]

Hence, *otohu* might serve as symbols of high social status whereas *hambo* are less 301
useful in this regard, being worn only intermittently and never with a purely 554
social purpose in mind.

The usefulness of *otohu* as status symbols is further enhanced by the fact that they are transferable from generation to generation. The Member of the House of Assembly for the Northern District told me he always carried his *otohu* with him when meeting his constituents and that he would display it conspicuously attached to his betelnut bag, because a great many people would know this *otohu*: it had belonged to his *epe* who had been a famous war chief and sorcerer. He believed that people in his constituency had great respect for this *otohu*. He made it sound almost as though he was carrying the *insigne* of a hereditary chieftainship, but in fact the basis of his influence was far more complex: it was in part agnatic, in part uterine, and in large part personal. Nonetheless, the *otohu* was obviously very useful to him in establishing new social relations.

Whatever social effect a *hambo* might have would depend mostly on the beauty of its construction and the rarity of its materials. While informants might sometimes think its history and associations worthy of mention, a *hambo's* association with a particular family is usually rather loose, as the right to wear *hambo* of a particular type is never, to my knowledge, restricted to a family. The main effect and power of a *hambo* appears to be aesthetic. It is used to impress partners in a dispute, dancing partners or young women whose passions one hopes to arouse.

Unlike the *otohu*, the *hambo* does not otherwise emphasise the identity of 301
the wearer. One the contrary, a fully decorated person, wearing a head-dress, 302
hambo and face-paint, is supposed not to be recognisable as a person. One 292
should on no account address him by name. He represents an *embahi* and, as
such, is completely depersonalised. More specifically, the dancer represents a 776
natural species – a pig, a wallaby or, in the case of women, a bird, a butterfly, a [825]
flower. The details of these identifications need to be studied more closely. The [824]
significance of the decorations is very similar to that of the masks used for
dancing in other parts of New Guinea. The face and body become a medium for
decorating: the individual assumes the persona of an ancestor; his private
existence is covered over to display only his social function.

This total lack of personal identity inherent in the *hambo* makes the object
easily transferable from one individual to another. It always belongs essentially
to the ancestors and is thus alive with spirit. By transferring it to another, a man
emphasises that he and the recipient share some link with the spirit world and
this implies amity, the primeval absence of strife. It also probably implies in
some way the message of the sacred flutes by which man's contact with the
spirit world is established. Further research no doubt will enable us to be more
precise about the meaning of these transactions. They occur in a great many 301
social contexts: *hambo* are given away to settle a quarrel, to pay bridewealth, to 431
establish and maintain an important friendship. They are frequently lent to 556
persons about to dance at a feast, and a gift of meat is then required from the 425
borrower. They are lent by the *kogumbari* expert for a similar consideration, and
are also bartered and sold. Some people, and not always the most prominent,
make large collections of them, and most people of rank have a good store of
them, as they are a necessary part of the ceremonial gift exchange system. From

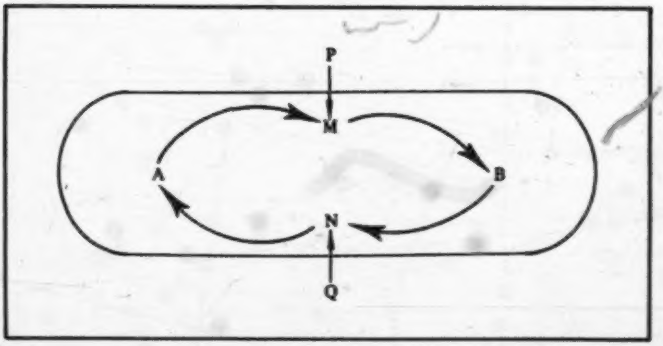
301 an economic standpoint, it is important that they represent storable wealth –
431 the only storable wealth of the Orokaiva. Nearly every family today keeps
425 *hambo* and feathers in a locked suitcase, thus elevating the suitcase into one of
556 the most ubiquitous introduced elements of Orokaiva material culture.

The distinctive characteristic of the *hambo*, as compared with other objects of mediation considered here, lies in the type of social exchange that is mediated by means of *hambo* gifts. One might say that the partners are exchanging spirit participation. No doubt cultures vary in the extent to which individuals lend and give each other their private religious paraphernalia, i.e. the objects they use to achieve communion with their deities. In a society as exchange-oriented as the Orokaiva, where virtually everything is exchanged, there is clearly some special satisfaction in wearing someone else's *hambo*. Furthermore, a 'total presentation' such as bridewealth, which is intended to create a social relationship on a great many levels, must always include the sacral level represented by *hambo*.

7. *The Nature of Mediation*

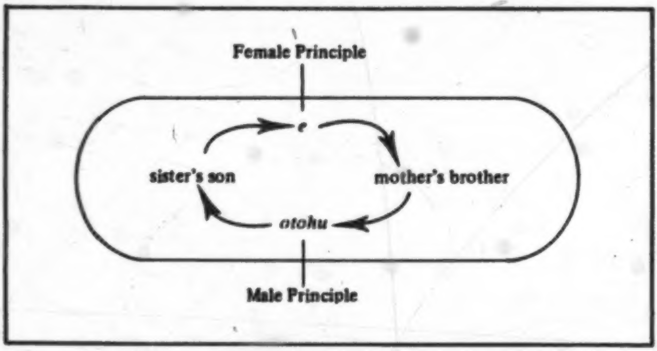
431 In the last five chapters exchange has been discussed largely on the assumption
that it occurs on two levels. First, it occurs on the mythico-religious level where
121 exchange relations are stated in the form of binary oppositions or possibly also
some other more complex structures. Among the examples discussed have been coconut/betelnut and the pair of initiatory flutes. Secondly, exchange occurs on the social level where each exchange partner subjectively views the other as transcendent and reachable only with the aid of some form of mediation. The belief in the magical efficacy of any given object of exchange is validated by notions deriving from the mythico-religious level. If A and B stand for exchange partners/objects of exchange, M and N for objects of mediation, and P and Q for relevant binary oppositions present on the mythico-religious level, we may represent our model of exchange as follows:

MODEL 33



As an example of the operation of this model, we may summarise the 431
discussion concerning the sacred flutes and the *otohu*. On the mythical level 121
there is a binary opposition between a male and a female principle. On the social level there is a relation between mother's brother and sister's son, which is mediated (*a*) by the mother; (*b*) by the gift of an *otohu*. On the technological level, there is opposition between a male and female initiation flute (respectively *otohu* and e = mother). These complex interrelations are shown with great economy in the following diagram:

MODEL 34



The objects of mediation under discussion in the preceding chapters have been mostly material objects, but the model is by no means confined to these. It is equally applicable to social objects of mediation. Indeed, in model 34, the word *e* appears in a double sense: as one of the two initiatory flutes, i.*e*. a material object, but simultaneously as 'mother', a social object. In the taro sociogram, we introduced a series of human mediators between a set of distant but equal exchange partners (model 20).A In discussing the *aguma*, we found the same pattern between a set of distant but unequal exchange partners (model 31).B Similarly, we may regard the mother's brother as mediator between initiand and the spirit world.

Some of the most important social exchanges are those which are mediated 431
by a woman who is a sister of one of the partners and the wife of the other. We 562
have already looked briefly at this type of exchange when discussing the coconut
and betelnut myth (model 29).C In thus equating woman with an 'object of 121
mediation' we are not thereby postulating any essential inequality between men and women except in as far as the Orokaiva happen to be patrilocal and patrilineal, so that it is the women, not the men, whose sexual role places them
in a position of mediation. We are merely suggesting that two persons standing in [582]
a relation of *dambo* mediate their social relationship through a woman with which each, in a different way, is identified, one sexually and the other non-sexually. The asymmetry is balanced out by a counter-prestation on the part

A [See p. 182, Cat. 881--Analyst]
B [See p. 135, Cat. 431--Analyst]
C [See p. 171, Cat. 824--Analyst]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

431 121 562 582 of the 'husband' who either gives a woman in exchange (direct marriage exchange) or else makes some kind of reparation for having deprived his exchange partner (generalised marriage exchange).

REFERENCES

824 571 1. Erikson, describing 'the beginnings of identity' in the adolescent, comes rather close to what I have in mind in this chapter: 'The emerging identity bridges the stages of childhood when the bodily self and the parental images are given their cultural connotation: and it bridges the stage of young adulthood, when a variety of social roles become available and, in fact, increasingly coercive.' (1963: 235).

881 2. A person who receives a token is referred to in this chapter as an 'initiate', as Williams makes it very clear the the bestowal of the token is not a necessary part of initiation, and comes after the ceremony which makes an 'inistion' into an 'initiate'.

000 3. I am using Beaver's spelling, as Beaver (1920) is the source for Williams' and my own information about *kortopo*, but Williams spells the word *kotopo*.

CHAPTER X

MARRIAGE

1. *Introduction*

In analysing a system of exchange, our first task is to find the rules governing the 121
objects of mediation. I have not dealt with all objects used by Orokaiva for the 437
mediation of social exchange, but I have given enough examples to show both a
method and a pattern. The effect of the rules is to place constraints upon the 431
exchange partners. Examples of such constraints may be found in each of the five preceding chapters. In making land transfers a man is constrained, in the main, by the love for his sister who wants his land for her children. In the daily ritual of taro gifts, householders are constrained by their quasi-commensal neighbours. Gifts of pig meat are constrained even more severely by a taboo on eating pork reared by oneself or a close relative. The constraint in coconut and betelnut gifts is mainly felt after a death, with affines as preferential recipients. The *otohu* sets up constraints through the moral pledges made at the time of its transfer to the owner.

Each of these constraints compels the individual to make commitments outside the narrow confines of the small agnatic group. Land transfers to the sister, if hereditary, place the sister's son in a position of dual allegiance to the agnatic and uterine group. The taro gift network involves a majority of non-agnates and establishes a chain of non-agnates who become vicariously quasi-commensal. The obligation to keep pigs for mediating critical social relationships ensures that means are available for setting in motion new cycles of positive reciprocity, either with strangers or with former enemies. My analysis of the coconut-betelnut myth shows a commitment on the philosophical plane: it shows that Orokaiva do not view exchange merely as a social and economic expediency, but as expressing, in symbolic thought, the interdependence of the sexes. Finally, the existence of two basic identity symbols (*hae* and *otohu*) implies a profound psychological commitment to the exchange system commensurate in Orokaiva society with the commitment to the corporate group.

I have spoken, in each case, of constraints because there has been a tendency, in the study of New Guinea societies, to overemphasise the degree of freedom. A man does not give his land, his taro, his pigs, or his *otohu* to just anyone. There are very strong pulls in the direction of the corporate group and these are balanced by very strong pulls in the direction of the exchange system. Nor is it correct to assume that the former are determined by structural rules whereas the latter are determined by economic interest. A study of the objects of mediation has already shown that there are rules which make commitment to the exchange system either obligatory or preferential. Yet all the evidence brought forward so

431 437 far has presented this exchange system as a set of individual, though interconnected, networks.

121 If our analysis cannot go beyond the identification and description of these networks, we shall clearly have failed to establish exchange as an explanatory principle for the ethnography of the Orokaiva. The success of our enterprise therefore depends on the discovery of some constraints, existing within the exchange system, which are placed upon individuals in virtue of their membership of some corporate group. If such rules exist at all, one may assume that they are most likely to be found in the marriage system.

583 121 Here we enter somewhat controversial ground. In the introduction to a symposium on marriage in the New Guinea Highlands, Meggitt has recently (1969) asserted that, in that area at least, positive marriage rules do not exist but only what he calls 'contingent preferential arrangements'. If his arguments are accepted, there would be no positive marriage rules among the Orokaiva nor, as far as I can see, anywhere else in the world. His arguments hinge on his use of the terms 'preferential' and 'prescriptive', but even if we revert to the definitions given for these terms by Lévi-Strauss (1967: xvii–xxiii) a very careful and detailed investigation is required in order to determine whether or not the Orokaiva have any preferential rules of marriage and exogamy.

It may be best to start with Lévi-Strauss' own discussions regarding the problems of Melanesian marriage rules. When he wrote *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949), the ethnographic data from which a general model for the Melanesian area could have been securely constructed were lacking. Nonetheless Lévi-Strauss wrote a brief passage on this subject and ventured a bold hypothesis. The hypothesis seemed especially bold because at that time there was only one ethnography that could be quoted to support it, a description by F. E. Williams of the apparently aberrant kinship system of the Koriari (1932). I think nonetheless that his hypothesis is a most useful starting point for the analysis of Melanesian systems:

> *La Nouvelle-Guinée, et les régions avoisinantes, présentent, à un degré exceptionnel, un phénomène que Williams a decrit sous le nom d' "affiliation sexuelle", c'est-à-dire une différentiation de statut entre le frère et la sœur, l'un suivant la ligne paternelle et l'autre la ligne maternelle. Il est impossible d'interpréter ce phénomène en fonction de l'échange restreint: mais il devient très clair quand on l'envisage sous l'échange généralisé, puisqu'en mariage matrilatéral comme en mariage patrilatéral, le frère et la sœur suivent des destins différents. L'étude des phénomènes d'affiliation sexuelle . . . permet donc de définir, à travers tout le monde mélanésien, une sorte de faille de l'échange généralisé . . . Toute l'aire orientale, "océano-américaine", comme on peut le nommer, forme donc une sorte de théâtre, où se rencontrent échange restreint et échange généralisé, tantôt pour s'opposer, et tantôt pour se combiner* (1949: reprinted 1967: 534–5).

Since 1949, Lévi-Strauss has made several further contributions to the analysis of Melanesian societies. In the second edition of *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* he suggested that *la ligne de partage entre les sociétés traditionellement appelées "primitives" et les sociétés dites "civilisées" ne coincide pas avec celle entre "structures élémentaires" et "structures com-*

583 *dorobu* items are: pigs, taro, pots, bark cloth, feathers and bone and shell ornaments. To this we may add, for modern marriages, money. The pigs are sacrificed and not used for breeding. The pots and bark cloths are kept by the bride or distributed in her family but are not, as a rule, applied towards a future *dorobu.* Feathers and ornaments are kept by the various recipients who use them, may give them away or trade them at their convenience, but there is no fixed practice of applying them especially for *dorobu.* There is no circuit in which wives move in one direction, and *dorobu* in the opposite direction. When a *dorobu* marriage is afoot the prospective bridegroom, the members of his paternal and maternal *hae* and, to a minor extent, other members of his clan, will amass the goods that are necessary. Pigs are specially bred, taro may be specially grown. Birds are hunted for feathers. Trade goods are assembled for the acquisition of ornaments. In modern times, the prospective bridegroom seeks employment to obtain money. If the bride's brother happens to be collecting bridewealth at the time of the wedding, his own task may be facilitated, but he is still expected to show his prowess by going through the same operations as his brother-in-law.

583 606 The difference between African and Papuan practice is basically that *lobola* cattle are preserved whereas *dorobu* pigs are sacrificed. Though we are right in supposing *dorobu* to be a set of gift exchange objects, it would be misleading to say that *dorobu* is exchanged for a woman. I have collected detailed information (as yet unpublished) about the symbolic meaning of the transfer of the objects included in *dorobu*. This formation is inconsistent with the theory that these objects are regarded as equivalent to a bride. Also, the especially aggressive behaviour of the bride's parents towards their new *imi* is hard to explain on the assumption that *dorobu* is in any way a symbolic equivalent of the bride.

The main recurrent theme of all informant's statements about *dorobu* marriage is the anger of the bride's parents. This anger is more than a mere psychological state: it is a basic part of the institution. The degree of anger may vary from one case to the next according to the amount of animosity that is felt towards the *imi's* village, family and person. If there is any hint of a breach of the exogamy rules it will be very great; if the *imi's* local clan group has a claim on a wife from the bride's village, the anger may be much less. But some degree of anger is expected in any *dorobu* marriage.

Dorobu is fundamentally a payment for anger.[3] When my interpreter wished to marry a classificatory *mosida* her father, after first refusing outright, finally set a brideprice at a rate more than four times as high as had ever been paid in the village. This was out of the question and my interpreter left the village soon afterwards. People told me this price showed the measure of the man's anger. A similar line of explanation was followed when I asked informants the meaning of the strict rules of avoidance practised towards affines. I asked: 'Why do you behave in this way? Don't you like your *imbohi*?' The reply was: 'I love her very much because it was she who gave me my wife. But I feel ashamed because I shall never be able to repay her.'

● 431 583 It is possible, from the evidence of rites and myths, to reconstruct the significance of the various gifts that compose *dorobu.* Summarising the results of such a reconstruction, I suggest that the gifts of taro and pig both re-enact a sacrifice in primal time where a man, identified respectively with taro and pig, is

killed and eaten and is remembered as the demigod who made these gifts to 431
mankind. When such gifts are made today it would seem that the donor is 583
symbolically sacrificing himself to the recipients. The custom of giving clothes
and cooking pots goes back to a myth where a woman is described as living alone [773]
and naked and without fire, so that she had to prepare her food by letting the
sun burn it. Two men came, gave her a skirt, brought her fire and thus acted as
her deliverers. These gifts, far from being 'equivalent' to a woman, are male gifts
for a woman, and emphasise the blessings of the cultural institution of marriage.
On the significance of ornaments as part of a wedding gift I am less certain, but [301]
the evidence suggests that they are pledges. They are objects of great magical
power, the mere possession of which is thought to demonstrate that their owner [778]
adheres to moral principles. The gift of such objects to another party
demonstrates that the donor possesses such moral objects, pledges that he will [577]
show propriety in his behaviour towards the recipient and enjoins the recipient
to do the same for him.

In combination, the *dorobu* gifts convey a clear and appropriate message: the 583
wife-taker acknowledges his indebtedness, emphasises that by taking a woman in 602
marriage he conveys a great blessing upon her and makes pledges which ideally are binding on both parties. Acceptance of these gifts need imply no more than that the wife-givers acquiesce in the *status quo* (which has been established by abduction or elopement). Until the affines make counter gifts, *dorobu* does not even establish social relations between the two sides. This does not happen until the bridegroom's sister has bred and given a pig to him and until the bride's mother has bred and given a pig to her son-in-law. It is only then that a limited commensality between the two sides is established: they have a meal together at which the *imbohi* pretends to eat.

The continuing avoidances and dangers characteristic of Orokaiva affinal 602
relations are all of a kind very familiar in other parts of the world, but the less usual feature is that joking relations, coldness and deliberate social distance can be terminated by the cancellation of the debt through exchange marriage. The strife of 'ordinary' affinal relations is seen as part of a longer cycle which stretches from the sister exchange marriage established as ideal by the ancestors to exchange marriages that remain present as a constant possibility.

9. *Application of the Model to Clan Formation*

The model of marriage exchange as presented here envisages the permanent 583
cyclical recurrence, in the history of any given social group, of restricted and generalised exchange, or – as one might say – of a state of matrimonial amity and strife, unity and division. This model is given additional credibility if we consider some Orokaiva theories about social relations and if we consider the processes of clan formation.

On social philosophy only a very brief reference is appropriate here. The 829
Orokaiva believe that due to actions of their primal ancestors, men are in
permanent strife with one another and for that reason dwell apart in separate
villages. They express this belief quite explicitly when explaining some of their
own myths. I have described above (Chapter III) an Orokaiva myth on the origin [773]

423 [224] [220] The only local hunting land held by Sivepe people is that held by individuals as gardening land. A villager may hunt or fish on the land held by members of any group in the village and in fact often strays further afield than this 'village land' without attracting the attention of other groups. A man may, without consulting others, invite a kinsman from another village to hunt or join in a fish drive with him but no hunting parties involve the assembly or co-operation of larger groups. A man wishing to hunt on the land of one of his kinsmen in another village would consult his kinsman first.

235 d. Livestock

[231] Apart from the game available to the hunter, there are only 2 sources of fresh meat available, the domestic pig and fowl. Six householders own a total of 15 fowls which were either bred or bought by their owner. They are valued mainly as an asset for times of feasting and only to a limited extent for egg production. They are allowed to run loose in the village during the day but are enclosed in shelters at night for protection against dogs.

231 Like fowls, pigs are fed by women mainly on scraps but they find much of their food by roaming in the bush and grazing in old gardens. They have complete freedom of movement within or outside [241] the village during the day and in some instances only are they housed in pens during the night. As a result, they are a constant threat to gardens which are not thoroughly fenced; their movements are a frequent source of dispute and require the gardener to exercise care in siting his garden and sometimes to devote considerable time waiting there to attack a pig which has been frequenting the area.

[431] [420] Of the 24 pigs or piglets claimed by 7 of the 12 householders, 15 were bred by them and the rest received in gift exchanges; none was inherited. The only longstanding debts admitted or claimed by members of the sample were in terms of pigs.

[146] There is little animal protein in the villagers' diet; some fresh meat and smoked meat or fish is purchased at Saiho market or from vendors travelling to the market - this source of meat seems to be quickly becoming reasonably accessible (E. Waddell: personal communication), but wild pigs - a very important source in many other Orokaiva areas - are rare and the area for hunting restricted. It would be feasible to take steps to modify any lack of animal protein by increasing stock numbers and improving their quality, but this would involve the introduction of new strains and, to maintain any increase or improvements, husbandry techniques would need to be refined.[1] At present parasites take

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[657] [1] About 50 Berkshire boars were distributed to Village Constables among the groups affected by the Mt Lamington eruption.

231 some toll on growth rates, size and length of life. Sows are quite prolific, however, and litters of 6 to 10 piglets which survive weaning are common. Boars are not numerous but it is claimed that the owner charges no fee for their services.

It is doubtful whether improved breeding and husbandry could
in themselves induce a significant increase in the consumption of
[431] meat by pig owners. Pigs are too scarce in this area to meet the
existing demand and priority is given to the use of pigs for
[435] distribution as pork at feasts or for gift exchanges. Very often
neither a man nor his close kin have a suitable pig available
when needed and in one such instance a price of £20 was set by
the owner of a pig in another village.

Any person who aimed to establish a herd of significant numbers for commercial purposes would probably need to divorce himself as a participant from the network of exchanges which involve pigs.

245 e. Economic trees

Although the village is 23 miles from Gona on the coast and
[131] over 1,000 ft above sea level, most economic trees are abundant.
[133] The average household claimed 62 trees from which crops are
gathered in season.[1] In order of numerical importance these were
coconut, breadfruit, areca (betel) nut, sago, pandanus and tauga-nut (Cycas media) trees. Each household also owned one or two
[137] citrus, puga-nut (Terminalia okaria), mango or barkcloth trees.
Sago does not grow wild in this area as it does on more low-lying land, but numerous small creeks provide sites suitable for planting. The 93 sago trees owned by Jegase and Timumu people are sufficient to meet the intermittent demand for sago for distribution at large gatherings or during the occasional period when there are limited amounts of the more common crops ready to be harvested from the village's gardens. Whenever a tree is harvested the owner is expected to share the sago widely with the other villagers whether they are his agnates or not.

Most villagers had lived in several villages, some of which
are now abandoned, and had planted coconuts there which they still
claim. They usually had similar numbers scattered over parcels
of land where they had gardened in the past. Sixty-two per cent
of all trees had been planted on the patrimonial land of the
[428] person claiming the trees. A man often plants trees while gardening on the land of affines or matrilateral kin and these trees
are inherited by the planter's son.

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[1] These claims were not thoroughly investigated but their accuracy was checked on a number of sample parcels where householders claimed a specific number of trees of various kinds.

Chapter 4

The cash economy

434 a. Income and expenditure[1]

[127] [128] Data collected from each household on its income and expenditure for 1962 are set out in Tables 6 and 7. There were no written records available to check the amounts which informants claimed they had received or paid but detailed discussions were held on each specific item and inconsistencies were re-examined. An average of $34 had passed through each householder's hands and he could fairly easily recall details of the major transactions.

[511] Per capita income was approximately $6.60 for the year while expenditure was $8.20. The reduction during the year in the amount of cash in hand is due to the fact that individuals who had employment which terminated late in 1961 or early 1962 drew on cash reserves during 1962.

Of a total income of $328 for the 12 households, 27 per cent was derived from paid employment, 24 per cent from the sale of primary produce and 24 per cent from marriage payments; a further 13 per cent was money received from kin employed in other districts of Papua and 12 per cent came from kinsmen in the neighbourhood (see Table 6).

[511] Major items of expenditure were store purchases of food, clothing, household utensils and other equipment such as a shotgun and torches. These accounted for 62 per cent of total expenditure. In many instances the goods were distributed or shared among 2 or 3 households of the expanded family and some-
[583] times more widely than this. Some householders shared the receipts of large bride price with other kin during the year but no one had
[431] had to contribute to bride price payments on behalf of kin. Of $410 paid out by the 12 householders in this period 22 per cent

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[1] Figures given in this section are corrected to the last digit given.

434 was in recognition of kinship obligations including bride price
[583] and gifts while 49 per cent of income was derived from these
[431] sources.

[525] Gambling does not appear to be common within the village but intervillage visits are not infrequently arranged for this purpose. Few men in the sample claimed any significant winnings or losses for the year but during our stay some men, in one evening's gambling, lost $22 to members of another village who had already won $10 from them in 1962.

454 Nine of the 12 householders were holding personal savings at the time of our survey; in 3 instances where men had formerly been wage-earners for some time they had opened Savings Bank accounts which they retained.

A son's wife living with 1 householder had received some money from her kinsmen and some from her husband who was absent in employment. The money had been banked but was not recorded in our survey.

Apart from $60 in savings certificates maturing in 1966 which are contributions to joint accounts (see Appendix B),[A] the ratio of current savings ($10 per household) to annual income is 1:2.7. Savings had decreased by 40 per cent during 1962 but income also seems to have been considerably higher in the previous year.

In a sample of 13 men from a nearby area in 1951 Belshaw (1951:12) found that only slight withdrawals had been made from pass books issued about 2 years earlier under the War Damage Compensation scheme; almost no deposits had been made. The average account had a balance of £4 with a range from £1.17s. to £8.1s. The same people claimed to hold other cash in hand ranging from nil to £39 with an average of just under £10. A small part [731] of this may have been cash payments made under the scheme. Refugees from the Mt Lamington eruption received other payments later from a relief fund. We could obtain no reliable information to account for any money received by members of our sample on either occasion.

436 The evidence is slight but a comparison of the 2 small samples suggests the possibility that with an increase over 10 years in the range of sources of income and in consumer demand, money is now circulating more freely in the area.

[301] [237] [321] [555] Shell and bone ornaments (hambo) and head-dresses (di) - made from feathers of the bird-of-paradise, mountain parrots, hornbills and cassowaries - known collectively as di hambo, are held by the people of Sivepe as a category of wealth, items in ceremonial presentations and as objects of display. In traditional Orokaiva society these are prestige tokens but seem never to have served as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

A, [See Category 454, pp. 107-108--Analyst]

464 166 [466] The older men in the sample were restricted in employment opportunities to indentured labour usually outside the Northern District. The young men on the other hand readily leave village life temporarily to take casual work on European plantations in the district where there is now a greater demand for labour. They may leave their wives and children to be provided for in the meantime by the other side of the family or may have them accompany them to the area where they are employed. These absences interrupt the routine of subsistence activities for the family but the possibility of this course of action is left open by local environmental conditions and the virtual independence of the nuclear family as a gardening unit. There is little seasonal variability and this small group is free to resume any phase of garden activities when and where it chooses.

431 Among the 5 able-bodied and active men of the senior group there seems to be no consistent demand for cash which cannot be met by gifts from their kin or affines and they have sought temporary employment only as a means of meeting some immediate financial requirements. With the exception of the salaried local government councillor the older men received 78 per cent of their total year's income of $88 as gifts.

434 454 By taking employment more frequently the younger men acquire income which they gradually spend on the range of consumer goods available locally as well as on kinship obligations. However, not all income is spent in this way and, as Belshaw found in this area (1951:11) there is both some capital available for investment and a willingness to contribute money to funds for this purpose if they can be organized.

The men who have spent most years in paid employment also supplement their income by producing rubber and coffee, sometimes with the assistance of their fathers. However, no one has invested heavily in these crops and they provided only $52 or 15.8 per cent of the sample's income for the year.

245 c. Commercial agriculture

(i) Coffee. Four householders in the sample have individual coffee plots with a total of 503[1] trees on 1 acre of land. One of these plots is a section of a former village or 'company' coffee plot. About the time of the opening of the Higaturu Council in 1956 members of Jegase, Timumu and other groups in Sivepe and Binduta villages participated in the planting of 2 'company'

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[1] The agricultural census of 1964 recorded 1,100 trees held by 5 growers in Sivepe as a whole (162 were not yet 6 years old and 491 of the trees had been planted more than 10 years before).

621 with some of their co-residents; nevertheless, common residence
614 implies some community of interest and a degree of group solidarity
that is reinforced by Administration and mission policies which
recognise villages rather than descent groups as functional
[431] entities.[1] Marriages between members of the different clan
[476] branches within the village reinforce this solidarity, which is
expressed in such ways as daily food gifts, co-operation in certain
tasks, and joint ceremonial activities.

(b) *Social organisation*[2]

614 (i) *Descent*. Every Orokaiva is recruited by birth into the
clan of his or her father. All members of a clan claim, but cannot
[611] necessarily trace, common descent from a usually eponymous ancestor.
Each clan is subdivided into named sub-groups or lineages which
[613] trace their origin to a named ancestor.[3] A lineage comprises, on
average, three households. Usually several clans are represented
in a single village, members of a single clan (clan branches) being
scattered among a number of neighbouring villages. Lineages are
much more localised in character, frequently being confined to a
single village and tending to occupy one section of it.

[622] (ii) *Leadership*. The Orokaiva social system incorporates no
central authority or hereditary leadership. Instead, it is
characterised by 'big men' (*embo dombo*) and an ascendency of
[554] elders who have proved themselves equal to the task. Such men
command the respect of the community - based upon observed qualities
of generosity, diligence, wealth, ability to make wise decisions and
skill in arranging ceremonial activities - but it confers no sanctions.

591 (iii) *Residence*. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal,
but in practice people have a wide choice between the village of
patrilateral or matrilateral kin or of affines, and it may be
[592] changed at any time. The composition of individual households
within the village likewise varies, although the basis is generally
[594] the nuclear family. The distribution of clan branches through a
[614] number of villages is closely related to access to the group's
land; hence initial motivation for a long-term change in residence
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[1] Cf. comments by Belshaw (1964:277) on villages and descent groups vis-à-vis government policy in Fiji.

[2] For a fuller account see Rimoldi 1966:29-75.

[3] Genealogical depth is slight, descent rarely being traced to an ancestor more remote than the grandfathers of the oldest men.

241 pawpaws, bananas, sugar-cane and edible pitpit (Saccharum edule). No rotations are practised, but a garden may be gradually extended so that the period between initial planting and final abandonment may be as much as two years; plants such as banana and pawpaw may survive longer.

Taro is liable to be adversely affected by a lack of soil moisture during the dry season, and at this time people resort to sago or breadfruit[1] and foraging.[2] Yams and Xanthosoma are also more important at this time, since the former can be stored for many months in specially erected yam houses and the latter can remain in the ground for some time without deteriorating.

[262] In Sivepe, animal protein does not form a regular or quantita-
tively significant part of the diet. The principal source is the
[224] domestic pig, and birds and small marsupials which are hunted. In
Inonda and other areas more low-lying than Sivepe, rivers are larger
[226] and contribute considerable quantities of fish to the diet, while
hunting for pigs, wallabies and other marsupials and birds is also
more profitable than in the more densely settled areas.

Since about 1890, new subsistence crops, including sweet potato,
manioc, Xanthosoma, corn, pawpaw, sweet banana, pumpkin and water
melon have been introduced. The Mt Lamington people claim that
yams and sago also are very recent introductions into their area.
[262] The fruits are consumed mainly as refreshments, but the vegetables
have become important in the diet. Sweet potatoes need drier soils
than taro and they mature in about three months. They, with yams
and Xanthosoma, are often planted in special gardens, known as
'sera',[3] as distinct from the ordinary taro gardens, called 'pure'.
[824] The sago palm is still uncommon in the Mt Lamington area and not
everyone is skilled in the extraction of the flour. Its leaves
have, however, displaced those of the bamboo as the principal roofing material.

431 (ii) Exchange. The most common transactions are the daily ex-
437 changes of food between the households in any Orokaiva settlement.
This may be unprepared, cultivated or forest produce distributed on
return from the gardens or it may be freshly cooked food given at
the time of the evening meal. People also frequently share food,
drink or tobacco while working together or on a journey. They do
not record these exchanges and each household is assumed to be in a
long-term equilibrium with the others.

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[1] Breadfruit is common only in the inland areas.

[824] [2] Particularly for edible leaves and shoots, which are known by the same Orokaiva name (ina) as pitpit.

[3] Such gardens are often only roughly cleared and not weeded, thus reducing labour.

431 Other informal transactions involving specific reciprocal obliga-
457 tions include the exchange of labour services, gifts of animals
killed during a hunting expedition and more or less casual trans-
actions with non-residents.

574 Formal exchanges operate on a larger scale than the daily or
casual transactions. Crocombe (1966:71-2) has listed the main
Orokaiva traditional ceremonies ('pondo' or feasts) as marking
initiation, marriages, deaths, enhancement of prestige, land
transfers, the re-establishment of peace after a quarrel and the
[178] lifting of prohibitions between a man and his mother-in-law. The
first and last of these have become very rare. In addition to the
traditional ceremonies, parties may now be held to mark Christmas,
Easter, the saint's day of the local church, the opening of a
school or aid post, and birthdays.

A feast provides an opportunity for settling many obligations
which may be quite irrelevant to the ostensible purpose and may not
concern the person or group actually 'giving' the feast. It may
[439] involve one or several villages or descent groups. The feast foods
are almost exclusively village-produced, although small amounts of
[262] storebought goods, particularly rice, tinned fish, bread, tea and
sugar, are becoming more common. Some feasts, such as those marking
the end of minor disputes between individuals, are essentially ex-
changes and in themselves take little time; others include much
ceremonial and may last longer than twenty-four hours.[1]

Parties seldom involve reciprocal exchanges though at some large
ones traditional obligations to other participants may be settled.
Invitations are usually given on the basis of residence near the
location of the party rather than of membership of a particular
[535] descent group. Most take place during the afternoon and evening
and non-traditional dancing to guitar accompaniment may continue
[533] throughout the night. Generally, only the host's household is
[534] involved in much preparation for a private party but other men's
wives will help prepare food, for which some return is expected.
Often only a small number of those attending receive a share of
food in the customary manner. Others may participate in the danc-
ing at will, but, if they wish to eat or drink, must purchase food
[177] or alcohol. Behaviour at such parties is largely imitative of
European practice, to the extent that at one wedding party observed
the bride was presented with a quantity of old plates, dishes and
cutlery by other villagers.

438 In addition to these exchanges with kinsmen, co-residents and
neighbouring villagers, there have been long-established trade
[437] links between the inland and coastal people. This trade originally

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[1] In the past they sometimes lasted several days.

461 Contracting and casual employment near the village are the most popular forms of paid work, since it is possible to maintain subsistence production and even cash crops at the same time.

(iv) Remittances. Remittances are closely related to the number of absentees. Few Orokaiva have been eligible for skilled work because of the limited educational opportunities available 166 until very recently.[1] Those in employment almost invariably see themselves as being only temporarily absent from their villages[2] and therefore feel the need to maintain kinship links and settle obligations. They normally return to their villages for leave and, if married, may leave their families in the village in the care of relatives, since few employers provide married accommodation.

Single remittances are frequently of the order of $10 in cash or 431 comprise gifts of clothing, tobacco, transistor radios and similar storebought goods beyond the financial reach of most villagers. The recipients say that they would like to reciprocate with gifts of food, particularly taro, but are precluded from it by the problems of posting or air-freighting heavy and perishable goods.

(v) Other sources of income. Since Papuans became eligible to 433 hold licences to trade in 1959, several Orokaiva men have estab-434 lished trade stores. Their stocks are fairly limited and include rice, tinned foods, sugar, tobacco and small household goods. Since [438] 1963, most have obtained their supplies from Oro Ltd and many have shares in this company. A number of the stores have experienced operational difficulties on account of the pressures of kin for credit or special favours, but some of the Orokaiva owners in 1964 were operating at a profit. One such store was established in Inonda in 1963.

525 Gambling with cards is illegal but is nevertheless popular. Orokaiva villagers play among themselves for areca or matches, although they prefer to play for cash against plantation or road labourers and settlers. Villagers sometimes win large sums in this way.[3] A winner is usually expected to return some of his gains to

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[1] Dakeyne (1965:94), however, found a high proportion of skilled men amongst the Yega people, who have had the longest educational experience in the Northern District, with a school at Gona since 1910.

[2] Only two of the absent Sivepe men had not sent presents home for [762] several years. One committed suicide in 1964; the other stated categorically that he had no intention of returning to the village, but in fact did return on leave at the end of 1965.

[3] A Hohota man won $60 in one session with the Girua block settlers and Dakeyne (1966b:37) cites a case of a Yega man winning $86 from plantation labourers.

121 [464] assumptions on which the thesis is based warrant discussion at this stage. These are, one, that in the 'pure subsistence unit'

> What they produce is either consumed by themselves or goes to waste. Saving is limited to the storage of such necessities as can be stored as a reserve against a rainy day, a poor harvest or sickness, and to occasional preparation for increased consumption in feasts and ceremonial. Beyond that there is no incentive to save, or to produce at a level beyond their normal immediate consumption. The level of production is therefore subject to a very definite ceiling, which may be well below their potential capacity to produce, in that when they have produced sufficient of what they know how to produce to meet their immediate needs, there is no point in producing more. The production of a surplus beyond that requirement adds nothing to their satisfactions, present or future. (Fisk 1962:463)

and, two, that 'economic and ceremonial activity are distinct and separate':

[464] [433]

> Ceremonial activity and the preparations therefor we shall treat in the category of leisure activity, and as affecting economic activity only to the extent that certain amounts of leisure activity are socially regarded as necessary, and that the amounts of labour available for economic activities are socially limited thereby. (Fisk 1962:464)

556 [595] Power and prestige in New Guinea are dependent largely upon the control of goods and services. There is, ideally, no limit to the number of wives, pigs and gardens a man may have, and the more he has the greater the productive capacity of his particular subsistence unit. As his level of production increases, that part which is distributed as opposed to consumed increases disproportionately, and so the range and degree to which others are indebted to him increases. Not only does this serve to elevate his status but it provides him with considerable security in times of stress and when [431] making further investments. Insofar as the distributive system itself is concerned, ceremonial activities (although emphasised in the anthropological literature) may be less significant and time-consuming than informal gift-giving; although the principle of reciprocation is at the basis of both, specific goods and services do have exchange values so that they do not necessarily operate on a like-for-like basis. Thus the pattern tends towards a powerful (wealthy) individual distributing goods (foodstuffs) and being [437] [184] reciprocated with services (labour). This has the effect of increasing his capacity to produce and so further elevating his status. Political, social and economic behaviour are therefore inextricably connected and 'leisure' activities cannot be considered apart from the economic system. An example from the Orokaiva will serve to demonstrate the point.

556 An important status indicator is the size of an individual's yam [251] holding. Yams both enter into ceremonial exchanges and are stored for consumption during the dry season when garden foods are in short [241] supply. Compared with taro, work on yams is 'hard' and not everybody grows them. In harvesting the owner seeks assistance from [431] others and the services so rendered are normally reciprocated in the [437] form of gifts of yams rather than the subsequent rendering of an equivalent labour service. The more assistance an individual can solicit the greater his potential capacity to increase his yam holding and so increase his standing in the community while meeting 433 some of the needs of those without yams. In such a case there is *no limit to the individual level of production although there is in* demand of the group as a whole. However, there is no evidence to suggest this demand is met since annually people must resort to the production of less favoured foods such as sago to satisfy requirements. [241] This suggests that the customarily defined span of activities may be so great as to leave the people without the capacity to satisfy their demand for yams, although the exchange system functioning through the network of ceremonial and leisure activities does permit the more even distribution of scarce resources among the group and provide its individual members with a higher degree of security than they would otherwise have.

121 Disregarding the merits of Fisk's hypothesis as applied to pristine subsistence communities, virtually all are now elements in much broader political, economic and religious systems. This is directly reflected in work patterns where novel demands are made on the people's time and the level of out-migration by adult males leaves a heavier work load for those remaining behind. As the linkages with the external sector become more effective so these features, which may be largely unrelated to the increasing commercialisation of the economy, become more significant. On these grounds Salisbury's thesis (1962) that the change from a stone to steel technology has resulted in a considerable saving of labour time in certain axe-using activities cannot usefully be presented as additional evidence for the availability of labour for commercial activities.

A final reason for making a comprehensive study of activity patterns is to test the assumption that the particular nature of organisation in subsistence agriculture is well suited to the grafting on of commercial activities. In considering tillage, animal husbandry and construction in traditional societies Udy (1960:85) states:

> None of these processes ordinarily requires the individual attention of members of the production organization. It is perfectly possible to cultivate a field, tend a herd, or build a house, and be carrying on some other activity during the same period. In fact, in tillage and animal husbandry there are limits beyond which more exclusive attention to the process

433 hunting. The little time devoted to the preparation of tools for 512 the main subsistence enterprises reflects the degree of technological substitution which has occurred since contact.

Construction and repair of houses normally continues throughout the year, here occupying 1.6 hours per man-week. In Sivepe such activity declined during the course of the survey as plans were formulated to transfer the village to the new site. Of 13 houses whose occupants were not newcomers to the village, 4 were completely rebuilt during the year and, in addition, 2 completely new houses were built and a number of extensions and repairs made to others. [342] This 'crude birth rate' suggests the life of a house to be about *3.25 years*. Since each house takes about 110 man-hours to build (including the gathering of materials), about 0.6 hours per man-week must be devoted to reconstruction in a normal year. In Sivepe about 0.9 hours were devoted as a result of additional houses being built, the balance (0.7 hours) accounting for repairs and minor extensions.

[252] Household tasks occupy 5.3 hours per man-week, cooking predominating with 5.0 hours. Of necessity, they vary little through the [462] year.[1] Much of the time taken up by cooking involves simply tending the fire on which the food is being prepared and it is then [372] that the women often work on their string bags. Most firewood is obtained as a by-product of clearing, suitable lengths of timber being stacked in the garden to dry out and then carried to the village as required.

All the above subsistence activities (food production, construction, handicraft work and household tasks) can be described as 'productive' in that 'the purposeful alteration and combination of physical material' (Udy 1959:2) can be discerned in them. Together they account for 26.6 out of the total of 30 hours per man-week devoted to the subsistence sector of the economy.

512 Only 3.4 hours per man-week are spent in fulfilling social 182 obligations. Although categorised here as non-productive activity, it should be stressed that ritual and informal social interaction are part of the fabric of the total economic system and the kinship networks which form the framework for these interactions serve as the major mechanism for distributing goods produced within the subsistence economy.

171 Belshaw, in discussing Melanesian exchange, states (1965:35):

> 431 A primary point to note is that a very high proportion of social contacts between adults is accompanied by gift-giving.

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[1] The figure for cooking in period I is an estimate, derived from averaging the figures for the following periods, since relevant records were not initially kept.

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> Between friends who visit one another or who meet on a path, this may amount to little more than proferring an areca nut or piece of tobacco, much as we might offer a cigarette, but with a more definite expectation that it will be done. If the purpose of the visit is a little more serious, or if it is to be extended, the gift may be of food, and certainly a host will offer meals....

He further stresses that such small transactions may be as central to the economy as the more complex ceremonialised institutions involving reciprocal exchange. Simply because such transactions and associated activities are of a moral rather than a mechanical nature and incorporate notions of social status, they cannot properly be distinguished from strictly 'productive' enterprise.

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In Sivepe time devoted to fulfilling social obligations is divided almost equally between the three categories of death (mourning), 1.1 hours, other ceremonial (feasting, farewell parties, etc.), 1.0 hours, and informal visiting, 1.2 hours per man-week.

While the pattern of visiting varies little from week to week, the more formal activities only occur irregularly. Only one death, that of a child, was recorded within the sample during the survey, but various people were involved in the deaths of four kinsmen resident elsewhere.

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The duration of mourning seems to vary in relation to the physical and social distances separating the mourned from the mourners as well as according to the status of the deceased. In the case of the child's death, 90 per cent (all but four members) of the sample participated, together with a large number of clansmen from other villages and most of the third clan represented in Sivepe. The sample members mourned continuously for an average of 11 hours each, this being terminated by a church service on the mission station. In fact, all the mourning during period I fell in four weeks, an average of 5.5 hours per man-week being recorded for these weeks.

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The time devoted to other ceremonial activities can be subdivided into four categories, the relative importance of which reflects the nature of social change among the inland Orokaiva. 'Parties' account for 38 per cent of the time so spent. These are normally held at the departure or return of kinsmen in paid employment or to mark 'birthdays' and are invariably characterised by the sale of plates of food and liquor and by western-style dancing to guitar groups.[1] Another 30 per cent of the time is devoted to traditional

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[1] The term 'party' is in current usage in Orokaiva and other New Guinea languages. For a detailed description of one such event, see Crocombe 1966.

159 554 his position being acknowledged by the widest range of people. Although in no sense a 'director' of village affairs he was the last villager to receive an otohu[1] and the first to obtain any formal education.[2] His position is therefore derived from his apparent ability to encompass both the 'old' and the 'new' ways, thereby gaining the respect of most members of the community. This elevation in his status is a recent development, not evident during Rimoldi's stay in the village, and in all probability influenced by the fact that he is an adopted member of Timumu clan and only 38 years old.

554 [431] [476] A married man with five children, he lives next door to his ageing step-father and mother giving them, as well as other older villagers, considerable gifts of food and assistance with such customary group enterprises as clearing garden sites, harvesting yams and house construction. Further, with an age mate from Seho clan, he accepted full responsibility for the organisation of the major sago-making venture during the dry season, at the request of his mother's brother. Among younger members of the village his stature is derived from extensive experience in paid employment[3] and his active interest in and responsible approach to cash-producing activities within the village.

Linton has the largest cultivated area of those surveyed and the largest holding of yams. Also, being the owner of a shotgun, an active coffee grower,[4] an OCGS shareholder and, during the survey, erecting a house of local materials under contract for Saiho hospital, his commitment to the external economy is both varied and substantial.

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[1] The otohu was an ornament presented to selected initiates which conferred on them important social obligations. In a discussion of the nature and purpose of the otohu Williams (1930:304-5) states: 'Adjectivally, the word seems to indicate "well-behaved" in the widest sense of the term. It was applied to a law-abiding and amenable member of society, and perhaps the nearest equivalent in our language would be "decent" or "respectable". The emphasis is certainly laid on the milder virtues rather than the more heroic. Thus a man was otohu or otohu-embo who did not quarrel, who did not beat his wife or children, who did not ill-treat his dogs and pigs, and who did not steal.... Diligence bears some part of this rather complex ideal, and so certainly does generosity....
We may conclude, therefore, that the possession of an otohu does involve a social obligation. It is an honour and a privilege bestowed by society, but it means that the recipient should settle down as a thoroughly amenable member of that society.' In Linton's case the otohu was presented at a specially arranged ceremony, apparently in acknowledgement of his upholding of traditional Orokaiva values.

[2] He spent a year at Isivita school prior to the second world war.

[3] A total of 9½ years spent, largely in an unskilled capacity, in Port Moresby, Lae, Salamaua and elsewhere in the Northern District.

[4] Although without a coffee garden of his own, he has successfully asserted a claim to trees acquired by another Timumu man following the subdivision of a communal planting established about 1956. See Rimoldi 1966:83-4 for a description of this planting.

554 Only occasionally do his monetary aspirations appear openly to conflict with customarily defined Orokaiva behaviour. Two such cases may be instanced.

432 While the practice of 'marketing' pigmeat is becoming increasingly common among
the inland Orokaiva, initially to 'strangers' by hawking around villages or selling it at
Saiho market, it is also beginning to operate among kinsmen at the intra-village level.
'Marketing' normally follows the unpremeditated killing of a pig, as in the case of one
having broken into a garden. Two cases occurred in Sivepe during the year, one organised
by the village councillor and the other involving a pig of Linton's. While Linton shot the
pig himself and decided to 'market', at the last moment he left the village and another
member of Timumu clan cut it up and sold it, giving all the proceeds to Linton's mother.
●[431] In a third case Linton had decided to distribute the legs as hande[1] but market the body.
Again at the last moment he changed his mind and made hande with all the meat.

472 Linton faced a similar conflict between custom and cash in his hunting activities. As
224 the owner of a shotgun he did a great deal of hunting, particularly in the dry season,
formulating a business arrangement with non-kinsmen from other villages whereby he would
hunt on their behalf if they provided the cartridges and a cash payment of 10c with each
[571] cartridge. In return he guaranteed a flying fox for each cartridge. By such a restriction
of entrepreneurial activities to people outside the 'sympathy group'[2] an effective compromise
is achieved between customary values and commercial aspirations, and individual security
founded on reciprocal exchange among kindred is not impaired.

554 Linton's status in the community, and the diversity of his interests and loyalties, is manifested by his being the most active person in the sample.[3] With a mean activity week of 52.9 hours he distributes his efforts throughout the range of activities (with the exception of household and sickness which are predominantly the concern of women) leaving little time for informal socialising.

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[1] Hande: a prestation where subsequent reciprocation is expected.

[2] i.e. the group 'to which the individual feels he owes allegiance; he gives them his sympathy, and from them he expects to receive sympathy; and their limits are the limits of his intra-group morality' (Williams 1930:310). For a lengthy discussion of the concept see Williams 1930:308-35. See also Lawrence's discussion (1967:101-5) of the 'security circle', an analogous concept.

[3] With the exception of the girl in full-time employment at Sasembata clinic.

512 entirely mourning and funeral feasts. The bulk of the time is
574 evenly divided between more or less formal social occasions and visits to kin and friends. The formal occasions include traditional feasts to mark the end of a dispute, to distribute the first fruits of a garden planted with the help of others, to mark the birth of a first child and to give or receive returns for
[527] feasts held previously. They also include non-traditional celebrations such as parties to mark birthdays, the opening of a new
[796] school and the saint's day of the local church. Such occasions usually occupy at least half a day and continue until midnight or dawn, whereas visits, as recorded here, are generally of only a few hours' duration. Visits may be made simply to see a friend or kinsmen or they may be specifically to make or receive a gift, to return a borrowed article such as a gun, lamp or sago-beater or to discuss matters of common concern such as a projected feast. Visits occurred more during periods II and III but feasts and other formal occasions occupied more time during the latter part of the wet season, when they amounted to 3.1 hours per person per week compared with 0.3 hours per week in the dry and 1.9 hours per week at the beginning of the wet.

464 Among other activities, the most frequent include seeking employment in Popondetta, journeys impeded by flooded streams or rain and meeting kin or friends returning from visits. The time devoted to them varies greatly from week to week. For instance, after the road-building work near the village ceased early in 1964, little time was spent in gambling or seeking paid work.

164 The time shown in Table 7:3 as occupied by sickness represents visits to the aid post for personal sickness, care of the sick and attendance at the fortnightly infant welfare clinic.[1] As noted, the incidence of sickness tends to be greater during wet weather when malaria and epidemics of influenza may occur.[2]

512 Individuals devote a total of 10.5 hours per week to non-productive
[433] activities. However, the distinction between these and the productive activities is not clear cut. For instance, part of the labour
[574] input in gardening may be designed to ensure a surplus of certain foodstuffs to meet specific social obligations. Similarly, visits
[431] to a kinsman may be undertaken in order to organise production and other aspects of a future feast, to assist in time of need or to make or receive a gift of food.

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[464]
[1] In addition to this time, individuals were inactive through sickness for an average of half a day a week (see Tables 7:1 and 7:2).

[2] During 1964 there were two influenza epidemics, in April and December.

472 achievement of several ambitions, including the acquisition of a carpenter-built house.
He spends more time on cash-producing activities than any other villager and is the re-
cognized spokesman in all village-level contacts with the external agencies. Through his
experience he was able to win and fulfil the construction contract at the airstrip, as well
as arranging for the sale of hardwood trees to the Administration, which others could, but
did not do. Half of the time spent on entrepreneurial activities is on the trade store and
[512] the rest mainly on the contract. As will be shown in Chapter 12, these activities are
[461] more rewarding than cash cropping, and the entrepreneur spends less than 0.5 hours a
week on his coffee holding and 1.0 hour a week on copra. Paid work and the other
main source of cash, marketing, account for only 1 hour a week. Altogether, involvement
with the monetary sector and external agencies occupies about 19 hours a week, or 37 per
cent of the total - a higher proportion than for any other villager.

461 The most time-consuming activity after entrepreneurial activities is hunting, although prior to his purchase of a shotgun in July Lawrence spent very little time this way. This and other food-producing activities occupy as much time as paid work and entrepreneurial activities and double the amount spent on subsistence gardening. Productive activities in both sectors account for almost 42 hours, 80 per cent of the weekly total.

It is clear that for the entrepreneur cash-producing activities have the highest priority once subsistence is assured. In this connection, it is noteworthy that during the dry season, the intensive labour by all the men on construction of the copra-drier took precedence over other activities, but when a pig invaded his garden Lawrence spent two days in fencing and only then resumed construction of the drier.

512 Marjorie. This woman is aged 21 and is married to Embogi's eldest son, who began
[527] establishing a coffee garden during the survey. They have one son, and held a party to
mark his first birthday in March. Marjorie was born in Hohorita village, as were four
[431] other Inonda residents, and she was educated to standard V. Her father's brother is a
teacher at Popondetta mission school, where several other relatives also work and she spent
a considerable amount of time visiting these and other kin, usually taking gifts of garden
produce and receiving in return storebought foods and cash. In addition to the average
2.7 hours a week spent in this way, she was absent for 13 days on visits and for another
8 days on mourning and funeral obligations when her father and her husband's mother's
brother died within a week of each other. Her frequent visits and gifts to her kin were

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 164]

181 In his discussion of Orokaiva morality, Williams (1930:322)
states that 'The group...contents itself with two main requirements -
(i) material plenty, and (ii) internal concord. ...each virtue
implies agent and reagent'. Three 'moral factors' are identified
as working positively towards the achievement of this ideal: industry
(the manifestations of which have been treated in Part II),
[476] liberality and helpfulness. A concern for mutual aid operates
among members of the 'sympathy group' and is therefore only effective
[571] over a socially and geographically restricted area. Being an
acephalous society, it is based on a reciprocal system whereby a
[431] prestation voluntarily made carries with it certain obligations and
expectations.

431 In traditional Orokaiva society several types of prestations
were identified, according to the scale, circumstance and nature
of the obligation incurred, and many of them are still practised,
albeit often in an attenuated form. The most common is termed
osisa - the informal daily distribution of small quantities of
437 cooked food within the village. No account is kept of the volume
involved but equal participation by all households is expected, the
only exceptions being the aged and the single men, with the latter
being called upon to reciprocate with a labour service from time to
time. Such distributions are primarily the women's responsibility.
However the casual gifts of areca and lime, made by the men, fall
within the same category.

796 The term hande, freely translated as 'generous', is applied more
specifically to ceremonial distributions and feasts organised by
574 the men.[1] They are normally characterised by the participation of
agnates and affines from other villages and by the strict attention
431 paid to the apportionment of gifts according to considerations of
kinship, status and specific obligations being acknowledged.

626 Visoare are challenge feasts of an avowedly competitive and
hostile nature made in connection with unresolved disputes such as
[578] encroachment on land, or the stealing and unauthorised killing of
pigs. They generally occur at the inter-, but neighbouring, clan
[574] level and incorporate the powerful sanction of shame for the individual
or group challenged. The procedure is for the party levelling
[614] the initial accusation to hold a feast, invite the other, make a
gift of food to them, and then challenge them publicly to reciprocate
with a feast of equivalent scale. A failure to match it can only
result in humiliation.

431 The type of gift made as a gesture of friendship or appreciation,
572 but not normally reciprocated, is known as umbare. Such gifts are
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[1] See p.26 for a description of the circumstances under which
feasts are arranged. A

A, [See Category 574, p. 26--Analyst]

431 572 574 only made with people from distant villages, who may or may not be kinsmen, and they always involve a visit to the party making the gift. This may be followed by a return visit at a later date but there is no necessary sequence or routine. Gifts made to relatives coming from a considerable distance to attend a mourning and those received as the specific motive for a visit (as in the case of Orokaiva going to the Managalase to receive di (feathers)) are both categorised as umbare.

121 Such exchanges and transfers of goods can be seen to operate within clearly-defined social contexts. Sahlins (1965:139) notes that 'A material transaction is usually a momentary episode in a continuous social relation'. He continues,

> A specific social relation may constrain a given movement of goods, but a specific transaction - 'by the same token' - suggests a particular social relation. If friends make gifts, gifts make friends. A great proportion of primitive exchange, much more than our own traffic, has as its decisive function this latter, instrumental one: the material flow underwrites or initiates social relations. Thus do primitive peoples transcend Hobbesian chaos. For the indicative condition of primitive society is the absence of a public and sovereign power: persons and (especially) groups confront each other not merely as distinct interests but with the possible inclination and certain rights to physically prosecute these interests. Force is decentralized, legitimately held in severalty, the social compact has yet to be drawn, the state nonexistent. So peacemaking is not a sporadic intersocietal event, it is a continuous process within the society itself....
>
> Even on its strictly practical side, exchange in primitive communities has not the same role as the economic flow in modern industrial communities. The place of transaction in the total economy is different: under primitive conditions it is more detached from production, less firmly hinged to production in an organic way. Typically, it is less involved than modern exchange in the acquisition of means of production, more involved with the redistribution of finished goods through the community. The bias is that of an economy in which food holds a commanding position.... It is the bias also of a domestic mode of production.... It is the bias of a social order in which rights to control returns go along with rights to use resources of production, and in which there is very limited traffic in titles or income privileges in resources. It is the bias, finally, of societies ordered in the main by kinship. (Sahlins 1965:139-41)

Individual exchanges are not, therefore, spasmodic acts. Together they form a system founded on the network of social relations. This

Chapter 10

Exchange patterns: Sivepe

The nature and volume of transactions

437 [125] As in the case of data relating to activity patterns, the transactions of the 35 adult members of the sample were recorded over a period of 25 weeks and 4 days, or 4,741 man-days. However, in view of the household functioning as the basic unit of production and consumption, attention was restricted to inter-household exchanges. These transactions were effected on only 63 per cent (2,987) of the man-days, the mean number being three per transacting day. Distinctive features are associated with the range, nature of partner and circumstances in which each of the five [431] identified categories is exchanged. Subsistence produce and labour services are associated primarily with the subsistence sector and cash crops, storebought goods and cash with the external, the former being characterised as gift exchange and the latter as monetary in that there is an immediate exchange of goods for cash (see Tables 10:1 and 10:2).[A] Although large sums of money do enter the community through the gift exchange system, it will be demonstrated that these originate primarily from wage earners employed in the external sector. In effect, therefore, the distinction which emerges between the two sectors in production and activity patterns is maintained in the systems of exchange. The concept of the market economy is of only restricted application although, as the volume of gift exchanges suggests, it does not follow that there is no demand for subsistence produce within the community.

(a) Non-monetary sector

431 437 (1) Subsistence produce. Subsistence foodstuffs dominate the non-monetary transactions with 25,909 lbs being exchanged. Both at the level of specific goods and of the sum of goods the basic feature of balance in exchange is demonstrated for, if transactions with the researchers are excluded, acquisitions account for 48 per cent of all transactions. Since this equivalence also occurs at the level of individual goods it suggests no significant geographical variations in the relative abundance or scarcity of goods within the range of transacting partners. While the volume of transactions of specific items does, crudely, reflect the relative importance

[A] [See Categories 438, 439, pp. 186 & 189--Analyst]

437 431 of each in the food pattern, the proportion of total production of goods entering into the distributive system varies considerably, being related to both its degree of scarcity and the circumstances of the exchange.

[241] [262] Taro, being the staple food, is normally readily available to all households from their own resources and it is estimated that only about 4 per cent of total production enters into distribution.[1] Of this figure over half (56 per cent) circulates within the village, usually in the form of individual plates of cooked food distributed after the evening meal is prepared. These evening distributions are initiated by the first to prepare their meals, and offered to those returning later to help allay hunger until their own food is ready. While the principle of reciprocation applies on such occasions individual exchanges are not accounted for. This applies equally to areca, lime and pepper which are casually distributed at gatherings.

Of foods which are resorted to in the dry season, particularly sago and breadfruit, a much higher proportion of total production enters into circulation. Well over half the sago produced is distributed, specifically to compensate for assistance rendered in its working, but more generally in recognition of the general scarcity of food and of an obligation among those endowed to share their stocks with the less fortunate. Even in such instances, however, the manner in which it is distributed stresses particular relationships.

431 23 224 [262] [574] Custom requires that an individual should not eat the meat of a pig which he has reared himself or of wild game which he has caught. Consequently virtually all meat 'produced' enters into the exchange network, the only observed exception occurring when a pig breaks into a garden and the owner endeavours to kill it himself. Even in

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[128] [1] This figure was determined by using yield data gathered in Sivepe during 1961-62 by the FAO Survey of Indigenous Agriculture. It was estimated that 159 persons produced 298.1 tons of taro in one year from 51.4 acres. Assuming the acreages to be constant the FAO survey estimates an individual requirement to be 0.34 acres per annum and Rimoldi (1966:20) estimates 0.36 acres - a yield of 5.5 tons per acre is obtained. (This includes area under other crops, but taro accounts for 80 to 90 per cent of the total acreage and it is assumed this proportion is constant.) Thus one individual produces 1.87 tons from 0.34 acres.

Using the ratio 70:36 of adult to individual acreage (Rimoldi 1966:19) an adult produces 3.63 tons from 0.66 acres. The present survey covered 4,741 adult-days (man-days) or 12.9 adult years. A yield of 46.8 tons was therefore obtained. During the same period 1.9 tons of taro - 4.1 per cent of total production - was disposed.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 187]

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Table 10:1

Sivepe: major items of non-monetary exchange over the whole survey period

	Acquisition			Disposal		
	Total	%	Amount received from researchers*	Total	%	Amount disposed to researchers*
A. Subsistence produce	(lbs)		(lbs)	(lbs)		(lbs)
Taro	3,390	29	1	4,151	29	388
Sweet potato	1,136	9	-	1,942	13	543
Yam	870	8	-	1,423	10	193
Xanthosoma	350	3	-	104	1	8
'Soup'	169	1	4	228	2	43
Sugar-cane	155	1	-	161	1	30
Corn	100	1	-	211	1	90
Banana	1,096	9	-	827	6	111
Coconut	274	2	2	281	2	66
Pandanus fruit	156	1	-	140	1	5
Sago	556	5	-	744	5	19
Areca/pepper/lime	107	1	1	100	1	4
Breadfruit	968	8	-	1,497	10	80
Other cultivated produce	306	3	-	586	4	361
Pig (domestic and wild)	1,245	11	-	1,372	9	8
Cuscus	138	1	-	181	1	-
Other product of hunting or foraging	138	1	-	180	1	7
Other (firewood, etc.)	297	3	-	330	2	-
Total	11,451	97	15	14,458	99	1,956
B. Labour services	(hours)			(hours)		
Cash sector	128	12		143	13	
Subsistence sector	1,030	88		955	87	
Total	1,158	100		1,098	100	
C. Storebought goods	($)			($)		
Rice	15.08	8	1.30	5.42	22	0.12
Tinned fish	12.63	7	0.85	5.10	21	0.10
Tinned meat	2.95	2	-	0.06	-	0.02
Bread	1.19	1	-	0.10	-	-
Other foodstuffs	3.66	2	0.02	0.74	3	0.02
Alcoholic drinks	1.39	1	-	-	-	-
Trade tobacco	31.66	17	14.67	5.02	20	0.10
Cigarettes	1.49	1	-	0.06	-	-
Clothing	46.20	25	-	2.74	11	-
Radio/watch	30.00	16	-	-	-	-
Other personal goods	9.36	5	0.35	0.54	2	-
Household goods	6.12	3	3.38	2.34	8	-
Cartridges	9.40	5	0.60	2.00	8	-
Batteries, torches, bulbs	2.60	1	2.40	-	-	-
Other tools and equipment	4.99	3	-	0.75	3	-
Total	181.82	97	23.57	24.87	98	0.36

* Included in total.

431 such cases much of the meat is distributed. However, if an indi-
231 vidual wishes to organise a pig-feast he normally arranges an
initial exchange of pigs with another person (frequently with one
224 to whom he had previously given a piglet to look after until it
matured), only killing and preparing the pig so received. Simi-
[574] larly, when a number of people are hunting together, whoever
catches anything will immediately make a gift of it to another
member of the party.

431 A small proportion of all transactions comprises goods given in
736 charity to the old and infirm, one item falling specifically in this
category being firewood. In such cases no return is expected.

737 (ii) Labour services. Of the sample's activity time, 3.9 per
437 cent was directed to rendering labour services, almost all of
which were on a non-monetary basis. As with subsistence produce an overall balance is registered but, since assistance is frequently reciprocated in the form of gifts of food, this fact conceals substantial internal variations within the sample. Of labour services acquired, 55 per cent were directed to two men: Umbahapa, the oldest person and a widower living alone, and Linton, the most active and highly regarded of the men,[1] while eleven individuals received no assistance whatsoever. By contrast all but one individual gave some assistance to a member of another household and no one person accounted for more than 12 per cent of all assistance rendered.

Similarly, as demonstrated by data on the composition of work groups,[2] the range of activities over which labour services are exchanged is very restricted. Eighty-eight per cent fall within the subsistence sector and of these over half occur in construction and sago-making. Among cash cropping activities assistance is commonly provided only in the pulping and washing of coffee (see Fig.10:1). Such services are therefore largely confined to activities where, firstly, the labour resources of the nuclear family are normally inadequate for their effective completion, as, for example, construction and sago-making and, secondly, immediate compensation is expected, as, again, in sago-making, in harvesting yams, helping with the exchanging and butchering of pigs, and hunting.

431 (iii) Storebought goods. While products of the external sector circulate through the gift exchange system, acquisitions predominate and comprise 88 per cent of the total volume transacted. Goods received from the researchers apart, most derive from relatives currently residing outside the subsistence village context - either as settlers at Sangara or in wage employment. The data incorporate

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[1] For a detailed account of the activities of these two men, see pp.117-21, 126-7. A

[2] See pp.114-17. B

A,[See Category 554, pp. 117-119; Category 461, pp. 120-121; Category 512, pp. 126-127--Analyst]
B, [See Category 461, pp. 114-117--Analyst]

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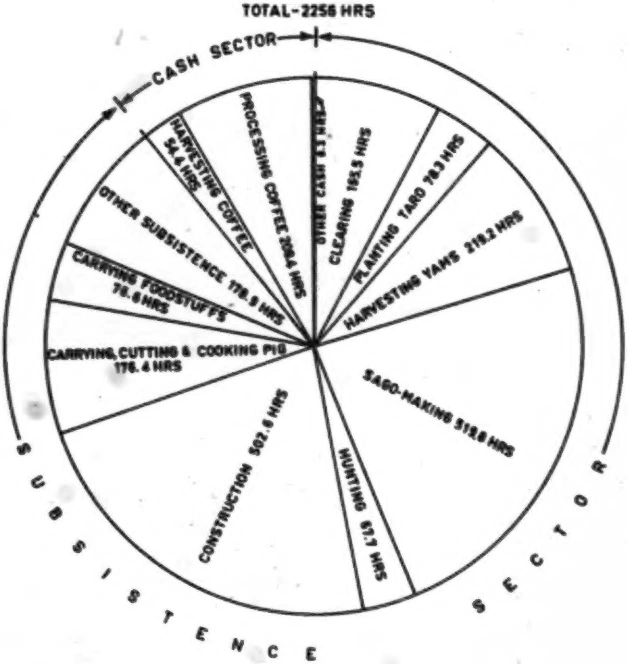
SIVEPE FIGURE 10:1
NON-MONETARY LABOUR SERVICE TRANSACTIONS



431 no evidence that these gifts are reciprocated. Absentees continue to make them in order to protect their interests in the village against an eventual return, to acknowledge support being given to any dependents remaining behind, and to ensure their own accommodation during holidays. Villagers would like to repay such gifts with subsistence produce but, apart from one instance arranged by the researcher, are unable to do so for lack of adequate transportation.

431 Clothing and tobacco, together with two specific gifts of a radio and a wrist watch, formed the bulk of goods received in this manner.

In the case of food a larger proportion is acquired from other subsistence villagers since some, particularly rice, circulates in a cooked form in the manner of taro and other garden produce, while tinned foods are frequently featured in more formal prestations.

Finally, the circulation of cartridges is directly connected with the rendering of hunting services and the provision of wild game.

432 (b) *Monetary sector*

438 (i) *Subsistence produce*. A small volume of subsistence produce is exchanged for cash but no such changes occur between kin apart from some pig which may be 'marketed' in the village and here accounts for 38 per cent by value of all transactions. Two categories can be identified according to the type of goods and circumstances of exchange. Sweet potatoes, taro and yams are sold by women to external agencies - the hospital administration at Saiho and the Anglican mission at Sasembata. These sales are largely unpremeditated and sporadic. The other goods, particularly *areca*, pepper, lime, pig, wild game and smoked fish are all scarce in some part of the sub-district and are normally transacted by the men, at Saiho market or with hawkers travelling through the village. Thus pig and other game always find a ready market because they do not constitute regular elements of the diet, while lime and fish are not available locally but are carried into the area by hawkers from the mouth of the Mambare and other coastal areas. *Areca* is plentiful around Sivepe and occasionally men carry bunches to Saiho to sell to people living at lower altitudes, along the Kumusi and towards Popondetta, where it is less common.

437 (ii) *Labour services*. Only two instances occurred of labour services being rendered in return for a cash payment, both in connection with cash crops. One involved assistance in marketing rubber and the second travelling to Awala to receive payment for coffee previously delivered.

[434] (iii) *Cash crops*. The cash crops, coffee and rubber, account for three-quarters of income derived from the sale of village products but only 26 per cent of the sample's total income (see Table 10:3). The marketing of both is the direct concern of the producer and there is little evidence of movement of the harvested product between members of the sample, either as payment for labour services rendered or due to one individual acting as middle-man between the producer and buyer.[1]

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[1] But see p.203.

434 Excluding the researchers' contribution to total income only 39
per cent is derived from the sale of cash crops and subsistence
[431] produce, the bulk entering instead through the gift exchange system,
largely in the form of remittances. By contrast, excluding bank
deposits, 63 per cent of disposals takes place in the monetary
system, principally as purchases of storebought goods, only a
minority being distributed as gifts. In effect, therefore, the
gift exchange system serves as the principal mechanism for the
acquisition of cash, but only a minor part entering in this way is
so distributed, income being used rather to purchase goods unavail-
able in the subsistence sector of the economy.

Seasonal variations in exchange patterns

438 (1) Subsistence produce (see Table 10:4 and Fig.10:2). Although no net movements of subsistence produce in or out of the sample are identifiable, other than those directed to the researchers, transactions do reflect the temporal pattern of availability of particular goods. Three broad categories are identifiable - continuous, seasonal and periodic. Of the main cultivated plants only the circulation of sweet potato is maintained at a constant level throughout the year, as it is more tolerant of dry conditions than the staple, taro. However, in terms of diet, its role is not important and in only two weeks did it constitute the major item of exchange.

During periods I and III taro predominates in transactions com-
prising 37 per cent and 32 per cent respectively of the total
volume, but with the annual fall in production in the dry season
it declines to 11 per cent, and breadfruit and sago replace it as
the main exchange items with 35 per cent and 17 per cent respectively.
[262] The production and distribution of these latter crops is almost
entirely restricted to the dry season when they constitute the
major part of the diet. The peak in breadfruit exchanges precedes
that of sago, this being a reflection of both food preference and
labour productivity. Only after the supply of the former has been
largely exhausted is the labour intensive work of sago extraction
resorted to.

Among the Orokaiva, as elsewhere in New Guinea, meat, in particular pig, provides the classic example of goods only periodically available. Although most pigs are exchanged ritually prior to consumption, the fact that a specific quantity of meat may change hands several times, commonly by a process of subdivision and partial redistribution, precludes any meaningful estimation of the level of consumption. It is nevertheless worth noting that on twelve weeks no transactions were effected and on only six did the total volume exceed 100 lbs. On two of the latter six weeks pig was the major exchange item, on a third the volume was only marginally exceeded by that of taro, while on all three weeks it accounted for more than one-third of all transactions.

592 437 established in the village (4 and 7) scarcely participate at all unless they make specific efforts to obligate others to them or to settle existing obligations, as with 6 having a sago palm felled and 7 assisting his affines in subsistence tasks on numerous occasions.

[431] The network of inter-household exchanges of these scarce goods and of services, even at the level of co-residents and close kin, suggests the system to be primarily a negotiated and exploitative one with the ideal of communal interests and group security relegated to a subsidiary role. This dual aspect of exchange is exemplified in a statement of intentions made by the head of household 18 where, in distributing some sago, he proposed to make large gifts to three people 'because they are always quick to help me when I am in need of food' but smaller gifts would be made to others since 'it would be an insult not to share with other people when they see I have plenty of sago'. In fact the security with which older people are provided is of a low order if the volume of exchanges with others is considered.

Income and expenditure of cash over 46.5 weeks

434 The level of the Sivepe people's commitment to the external sector of the economy is demonstrated by their income and expenditure patterns. All households handled some money during the period from February 1964 to January 1965 and even household 4 which registered a gross income of only 50c during the period it was present, left the village with the specific object of seeking wage employment on a Sangara plantation (see Table 10:10). A Cash croppers handle substantially more money than non-cash croppers but this fact is not simply a function of the agricultural activities of the former. There are several important avenues available for the acquisition of money, and commitment to cash does not imply any parallel commitment to cash cropping.

As the single most important source of income, remittances rank with proceeds from the sale of cash crops and, for cash croppers, these two provide their main sources of cash. By contrast non-cash croppers derive over half of their income primarily from Sangara settlers and secondarily from other villagers[1] (see Table 10:11).

[431] The value of connections with wage earners and Sangara settlers is enhanced by the gifts of goods frequently associated with the

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[1] Some money is also obtained directly from the sale of cash crops. Two cases were recorded of quantities of coffee being given to non-cash croppers in acknowledgement of assistance rendered; while in a third a young member of a non-cash cropping household emulated his brother in exploiting the communal rubber planting.

A, [See Category 511, p. 205--Analyst]

454 431 money received from them. As demonstrated in Table 10:15,[A] such people serve as a major source of storebought goods, other than foodstuffs. The size of such gifts is demonstrated by the following two cases.

One: a householder visited his sister and sister's husband (also his wife's brother) working in Port Moresby. At the end of his visit he received $20 in cash, a dog and a suitcase containing the following items - 4 dresses, 2 pairs of underpants, 4 pairs of shorts, 5 shirts, 10 lengths of calico, 1 skirt, 2 pairs of child's shorts, 1 child's dress, 11 plates, 1 cauldron, 7 spoons, 1 blanket, 1 sleeping mat, 2 handkerchiefs and a child's shirt. From another of his wife's brother he received a wrist watch, while a third man paid his air fare back to Popondetta.

Two: a teenage girl spent about two months visiting and assisting her father's mother's brother's daughter and her husband on their holding at Sangara. During the course of her stay she received $1 in cash and at the end a further $2 together with the following items - flour (50c), margarine (30c), fish (20c), meat (80c), sugar (20c), rice (50c), tobacco (10c), matches (05c), and chewing gum (10c).

511 The expenditure patterns of cash are much the same for both cash
and non-cash croppers; in both cases trade store purchases account
for about half and payments to external agencies (licences, tax and
mission offerings) account for a further one-fifth of the total.
Non-cash croppers have less money available but utilise it in much
the same manner - in effecting what are largely necessary exchanges
[430] with the external sector. The small amount of money circulating as
exchanges between villagers (12 per cent of income and 15 per cent
of expenditure) reveals the non-cash croppers as realising a net
credit of about $10, the cash croppers a debit of about $15. While
little reliance can be placed on these figures they do seem to confirm the villagers' recognition of a distinct though restricted
movement of money towards the former to supplement their limited
cash resources and fulfil their requirements for it. In fact, the
incomes of cash cropping households exceed those of all others,
while, of the five households with the highest incomes, the heads
[556] of four are the most respected within the sample. Thus, as with
work, the intensity of exchange or activity in the monetary sector
is apparently recognised as one criterion engendering respect among
villagers. Alternatively, at the present level of commercialisation,
it does not appear to conflict with customary considerations in the
evaluation of status.

454 Even in the case of households with incomes of $2 per week there is little evidence of serious attempts at capital formation or investment. Any periodic excess of income over expenditure is normally kept as cash on hand in the house to be drawn on as required. Only four instances of monetary investments, involving two

A,[See Category 437, p. 214--Analyst]

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Table 10:11

Sivepe: patterns of income and expenditure over 46.5 weeks, by cash cropping status

	Cash croppers		Non-cash croppers		Total	
Number of adults	19		16		35	
Man-weeks surveyed	751.5		509.5		1,261.0	
	$	%	$	%	$	%
Sources of income						
Cash crops	174.95	35	15.00	15	189.95	32
OCGS dividend	5.40	1	-	-	5.40	1
Paid employment*	18.90	4	2.25	2	21.15	4
Remittances**	162.50	33	3.80	4	166.30	28
Gifts and payments from Sangara settlers	0.40	-	33.60	33	34.00	6
Subsistence produce: marketing, hawking and casual sales	16.50	3	10.75	11	27.25	5
Sales to Administration	7.80	2	3.45	3	11.25	2
Gifts, loans and payments from villagers	47.05	9	25.40	25	72.45	12
Researchers	62.03	13	6.53	6	68.56	11
Total	495.53	100	100.78	99	596.31	100
Mean per man-week	0.66		0.20		0.47	
Directions of expenditure						
Trade store purchases	189.91	48	38.82	53	228.73	49
Mission (Mothers' Union) purchases	4.35	1	4.10	6	8.45	2
Marketing, hawking and casual sales	18.08	5	2.60	4	20.68	4
Fares, travel	12.00	3	0.50	1	12.50	3
Bank deposits/shares	32.00	8	-	-	32.00	7
Administrative agencies	4.00	1	-	-	4.00	1
Mission offerings	45.09	11	2.60	4	47.69	10
Local Government Council tax	28.00	7	14.00	19	42.00	9
Gifts, loans and payments to villagers	57.90	15	10.34	14	68.24	15
Gambling losses	4.00	1	-	-	4.00	1
Total	395.33	100	72.96	101	468.29	101
Mean per man-week	0.53		0.14		0.37	

* Including local government Councillor's salary.
** Including gifts from wage earners in District.

437 absences from the village[1] and the services are normally reciprocated with goods originating in the external sector.

The exchange of cash crops (for cash) is wholly bilateral in
form - between producer and buyer - with no other movement identifi-
able. This does not apply to storebought goods. While 46 per cent
are obtained directly from trade stores and other organisations,
[438] significant quantities are also received from wage earners, as well
as from other subsistence villagers. The bulk of goods obtained
from organisations are foodstuffs and stimulants (59 per cent) and
[439] these may be consumed casually or redistributed, primarily in
ceremonial exchanges. Wage earners outside the District are the
second most important source of storebought goods; in this case the
goods are largely non-perishable and of a comparatively high value
●431 as, for example, a radio, clothing, bedding and linen. Three
parcels of gifts received were valued at $44, $35 and $19 each.
Not only are such items suited for postal delivery but these are
the only people that can really afford to make such gifts. Wage
earners within the District are unable to make large gifts, both
because of their lower incomes and the frequency of inter-visiting.
Instead small quantities of food or used clothing are commonly given
by them, although on one occasion a villager received a second-hand
watch and on another, a number of sacks. The latter are highly
valued for the storage of coffee.

438 The 19 per cent of storebought goods obtained from villagers
fall into two categories - food which, as stated above, is mostly
439 ceremonially exchanged,[2] and cartridges. Both the owners (or the
operators) of shotguns received frequent requests to hunt on behalf
of others, in return for the supply of cartridges. However, one of
them also expected an additional payment of 10c per cartridge from
some people for the service.[3]

437 With the exception of a few small gifts of prepared food made to the researchers, the acquired storebought goods are only given to other subsistence villagers. Essentially, therefore, the pattern of movement of these, as of subsistence produce, reflects the different resource bases of the various socio-economic categories where the diffusion of kin facilitates reciprocally based exchange or, in the absence of kin, monetary exchange. The opportunities for this latter type are enhanced by the introduction of non-kinsmen into the subsistence villagers' orbit, particularly as mission

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[1] See p.77.

[2] In one minor feast an individual received thirteen tins of fish and large pots of rice and tea, apart from the customary range of subsistence produce.

[3] See p.119.

437 Palminus was able, like Linton, to establish an exchange relationship with a man employed in Popondetta, in this case a distant relative of his wife, working as a carpenter. On his occasional visits he took him food, receiving in return cash and storebought goods. Apart from this case, however, Palminus' transactions are almost entirely restricted to
[431] subsistence goods and services - food and labour in harvesting yams. Acquisitions amount
[765] to 62 per cent of all his subsistence produce transactions (compared with 54 per cent in Linton's case), the greater proportion reflecting events following the death of one of Palminus' sons early in the survey when gifts of food were received from a wide range of kin during the week that he and his wife remained in their house.

[562] Gorukari. Like most women Gorukari transacts little apart from subsistence produce and, in this, the substantial excess of disposals over acquisitions reflects her responsibility for distributing plates of cooked food. Outside her own family her immediate responsibilities are to her husband's ageing parents and their remaining dependent children who live next door. While the two families frequently prepare their meals at the same hearth the periodic sickness of the parents also involves Gorukari in providing food for them. In addition she temporarily accommodated her husband's father's sister, a widow, and her
[431] children. This family appears to have had some difficulty in achieving subsistence[1] and Gorukari frequently provided them with food. These gifts were acknowledged following the widow's remarriage and departure from Sivepe.

Elsewhere within the village Gorukari exchanges produce primarily with women from her own age group, where the bond is one of common interest rather than of kinship. Outside the village she maintains contact with two of her natal kin - her mother, who lives about one hour's walk away, and her sister, married to a medical orderly at Saiho hospital. These periodic visits also enable Gorukari to take food to her husband's father's sister who is married into her mother's village.

Olga. Olga's exchanges follow a similar pattern to those of Gorukari. They involve, almost exclusively, subsistence produce, disposals of which account for 71 per cent of all transactions. Within the spouse's lineage frequent exchanges are effected with her son and his wife whose house is adjacent. Elsewhere major exchange relationships are maintained

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[1] See p.84.

437 with immediate kin and with individuals receiving acknowledged support from her. In the
first category are two daughters residing with their spouses' families (one in Sivepe and the
other in a neighbouring village) during the spouses' absence in wage employment. The
second comprises her brother's son and his wife, who resided briefly in Sivepe but were
without adequate food resources of their own, and her sister's daughter's daughter, previously
[431] cared for by Olga, plus the girl's present guardian. Finally, significant gifts of food were
received from a cross-cousin residing in another village.

Rodney Gill. With no significant food supplies of his own Rodney Gill only receives
subsistence produce and disposes of his one abundant resource, labour. His exchanges are
predominately with immediate kin - his brother and brother's wife residing next door -
[431] and they are the sole recipients of assistance in cash cropping activities. However, help
with subsistence tasks is given to, and gifts of food received from, a wider range of
individuals, all belonging to households located at his end of the village. Rodney Gill
has no important exchange relationships outside Sivepe.

437 **Umbahapa**. As an aged and partially lame widower Umbahapa is dependent on regular
431 gifts of food from his sister and a married daughter living next to him and he normally
737 disposes of little himself. This pattern was temporarily altered during the survey by the
decision to fell one of his sago palms. This resulted in assistance being received from,
and sago distributed to, a large number of villagers. In fact these transactions were only
nominally Umbahapa's since he had delegated to his sister's son, Linton, the responsibility
of organising the work and distributing the sago, while, prior to its distribution, the sago
was held in his sister's husband's house. Participation in this venture was determined by
individual need for food rather than kinship criteria.

Storebought goods, in particular an axe, provided the most important gifts from kin outside the village, such items being the ones he is least likely to obtain as a result of his own endeavours.

437 The cases discussed above outline the pattern of sustained interchanges among individual villagers. However, they do not indicate the whole range of an individual's close genealogical kin since the network of exchanges is directly influenced by considerations of distance and by the links established through marriage between the clan branches represented in the village. The first imposes severe restrictions on the movement of goods, particularly subsistence

437 produce, while the second results in sustained interaction with
affines at the probable expense of agnates living elsewhere. The
latent obligations to more distant kin are revealed on such occasions
[431] as an unexpected visit Palminus received from his father's
sister's son following the birth of Palminus' child. His embarrassment
at not having previously advised the man of the birth was only
compensated by his making an immediate gift of $2.

The facility with which kinship links can be drawn between most, if not all, of the villagers makes it difficult to identify significant, yet mutually exclusive, categories of exchange partners. Exchanges between two individuals might, for example, be variously interpreted as being between neighbours, affines or age-mates. The most important economic connection is between an individual's families of orientation and of procreation, where the two households are located adjacent to each other. Although each maintains separate gardens, between such *linked households* there is a substantial, if variable, degree of inter-dependence and the network of exchanges may incorporate three generations.

437 Other major exchange relationships operate with affines, matrilateral
and patrilateral kin and are typically restricted to members
561 of the individual's age group, for example, cross-cousin, wife's
[602] brother and sister's husband. Such coeval links also extend to
individuals with whom there is no apparent bond of kinship. Traditionally
these links may have been restricted to fellow-initiates,
who were of both sexes and stood in a defined relationship where
[178] each referred to the others as *nanamei*.[1] Since the disappearance
of initiation ceremonies the connection is now of a more informal
nature, reflecting similarity of interests.

437 In effect, regular exchanges operate between members of one's
own generation, where partners may be drawn from a wide range of
602 kinship categories and with other generations in the case of primary
and secondary kin (see Table 10:18). Other large exchanges which fall outside this pattern are mostly of a specific nature and characterised by immediate reciprocation, as in the case of pigs and sago-making. There is only limited evidence to suggest that the movement of specific goods and services follows distinct patterns, although those relating to the external sector do move almost exclusively between primary kin. However, this fact cannot be considered to indicate a different attitude to the ideal of reciprocation on the part of those having direct access to cash crops and money. Where an individual's family of orientation renders assistance with processing coffee, it is normally without cash crops of its own and where remittances are received from sons,

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[601] [1] Meaning 'my children', i.e. 'the children of whom I am one'.
See Williams 1930:180.

Chapter 11

Exchange patterns: Inonda

437 **The nature and volume of transactions**

[431] The Inonda people carry out exchanges of subsistence produce, labour services and items derived from trade stores not only with each other but also with people from other villages, with settlers and with kinsmen or friends who are wage earners. Reciprocation for a gift is not necessarily on the same occasion, or in the same quantity or of the same item. The exchanges effected by the 21 adult members of the village were recorded simultaneously with the data on activity patterns, a total of 2,782 man-days being covered.

(a) Non-monetary sector

438 [262] (i) Subsistence produce. Table 11:1 shows the total amounts of each item given and received by the villagers in all non-monetary transactions. The dominant position of taro in the horticultural system and the diet is emphasised by its role in exchanges. The economic importance of the sparsely-populated grasslands and hill areas is also clear from the fact that wild pig is the next most important item after taro; other hunted produce and fish are also significant. Some allowance should be made for the fact that pig carcasses, weighing up to 200 lbs are often given whole rather than after the removal of the gut and bones.[1] In addition, portions of meat frequently pass through a 'chain' of exchanges and are thus counted several times. This process occurs more rarely for vegetable produce. These qualifications, however, are not sufficient to diminish the significance of pigmeat in the exchange pattern. Sweet potato is the second most important crop (see Table 4:9) and the third most important item in subsistence transactions. Banana, sugar-cane, yam and pumpkin are the main subsidiary crops and are also significant in the exchange pattern. The comparatively small

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[224] [1] This practice is determined partly by the belief that in certain circumstances, such as when using a new gun, spear or new hunting dog, a hunter should not keep the prey to himself.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 239

438 proportion formed by pitpit is due to the fact that it was only in season during the first twelve weeks of the survey (see Table 11:4). Yams, Xanthosoma and sago are similarly seasonal and in certain weeks are more prominent than shown here. Of the other cultivated products, areca nuts are important although they amount to only 93 lbs acquired and 39 lbs disposed over the survey. One lb consists of approximately 24 areca nuts, so that about 86 nuts were acquired and 36 nuts disposed of by the village as a whole each week. In other words, there is a regular traffic in areca. Inonda people are dependent on outsiders for the nut because the palm does not grow well on their land.

It is noteworthy that the total acquisitions and disposals of subsistence items are very close to balancing - the excess of the former amounts to only 76 lbs out of a total of 14,000 lbs. However, the reservation should be made that the balance is achieved by equating all items on the basis of weight, and this does not exactly reflect Orokaiva methods of calculation. It is, nevertheless, probable that the outflow of the most favoured foods - taro (800 lbs) and pigmeat (375 lbs) - helps to balance the inflow of services and storebought goods and that this is an expression of the Orokaiva ideal of reciprocity in relationships.

437 [431] (ii) Labour services. The exchange of labour services is to some extent a matter of individual inclination. Where an obligation exists, it has not necessarily been incurred through an equivalent service, nor is reciprocation in this way essential - it may, instead, be through a gift of garden produce and obligations and reciprocations may be seperated by a time-lag of a year. For this reason and others discussed below, the pattern of services over a period varies from individual to individual and acquisitions and disposals are not often in balance. In Table 11:1 the excess of acquisitions over disposals of labour services in the subsistence sector reflects large amounts of labour given by people from other villages, mostly young men staying for a few days or weeks with kin in Inonda. They contributed 42 per cent of subsistence services, in such tasks as house-building, sago-making and gardening. If it is assumed that people who are temporarily absent from Inonda follow the same work patterns as people temporarily resident, this apparent excess would be considerably reduced.

439 431 [123] (iii) Storebought goods. Table 11:1 also shows the values of goods derived from trade stores that are circulated through the gift exchange system. Thirty-seven per cent of the total value of acquisitions shown was in gifts from research workers. One-third of this was in the form of a parcel of clothing from a research worker in Australia and the rest was contributed during the survey. The most significant contributions were of trade tobacco, mosquito nets (shown as 'personal goods'), clothing and a suitcase given to the leading man for his journey to Port Moresby.

439 431 Discounting the effects of the researchers' presence, there is a considerable excess of acquisitions over disposals. This largely reflects the continued participation in the gift exchange system of villagers' kin who are in close contact with the monetary sector as wage earners or settlers (see Table 11:9).A The contributions of such people are particularly marked in the case of rice and clothing, which are, in terms of value, the most important items of storebought produce entering the gift exchange system. As well as rice, tinned fish, bread, trade tobacco and several lesser food items all enter into the exchange system occasionally. They are invariably given in small quantities, sometimes in the daily food transfers and sometimes as contributions to a feast or party.

(b) Monetary sector

435 432 Table 11:2 shows the total values of items acquired and disposed in exchanges involving an immediate return of cash. Purchases of subsistence produce are insignificant compared with the amounts acquired through gift exchange and they are usually made to fulfil an urgent need, such as feast contributions. *Areca* nuts, however, are bought occasionally. They are mostly obtained in the Popondetta market, whereas fish and game are purchased from hawkers. Some garden produce was sold to road construction workers early in the survey, but the main sales of subsistence produce were made in Popondetta market during periods II and III and comprised mostly fish and smoked meat from hunted animals. The Inonda people acquire almost four times as much cash from sales as they spend on purchases of subsistence produce.

439 In total, subsistence produce accounts for only a small proportion of monetary exchanges, which are concerned mainly with storebought goods. The total value of purchases of such goods is almost $200. As with gift exchange, clothing and rice are the most important items, with certain other foodstuffs - tinned fish, bread, sugar, biscuits and flour - also accounting for significant proportions. Apart from food and clothing, the main items purchased comprise household goods and tools and equipment for work.

[438] Apart from goods sold through the medium of the trade store,[1] copra was the only non-traditional commodity sold during the 26 weeks of the recording periods. Some coffee was, however, sold in the weeks intervening between the three periods.[2]

439 431 The excess of acquisitions over disposals of storebought foods is evidence of the comparatively slight degree to which they enter into the gift exchange system, with the exception of rice and tinned

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[1] For details of the operation of the trade store, see p.255. B

[2] See p.257.

A,[See Category 592, p.247--Analyst] B,[See Category 444, p.255--Analyst] meat and fish. Between 4 and 6 lbs of rice are given out each week on average, mostly as plates of cooked rice.

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[431]

Table 11:2

Inonda: major items of monetary exchange over the whole survey period

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	Acquisition			Disposal		
	lbs	$	%	lbs	$	%
A. Subsistence produce						
Xanthosoma	50.0	0.70	9	-	-	-
Banana	-	-	-	25.0	2.10	7
Coconut	2.0	0.10	1	15.0	0.75	2
Areca	9.8	2.06	27	1.0	0.20	1
Tobacco	-	-	-	0.5	0.20	1
Fish	8.5	2.10	27	39.0	6.80	23
Crocodile	-	-	-	12.0	4.50	15
Bird	-	-	-	12.0	2.10	7
Bandicoot	1.0	0.10	1	3.5	0.90	3
Wallaby	5.0	0.30	4	35.0	3.50	12
Pig	21.0	2.40	31	87.5	8.30	28
Eggs	-	-	-	0.3	0.30	1
Total	97.3	7.76	100	230.8	29.65	100
B. Storebought goods		$	%		$	%
Rice		21.40	11			
Tinned fish		16.86	8			
Tinned meat		5.98	3			
Bread		13.04	7			
Sugar		12.94	7			
Flour		12.60	6			
Soft drinks		4.72	2			
Sweet biscuits		11.44	6			
Hard biscuits		2.20	1			
Prepared refreshments		8.10	4			
Other foodstuffs and medicines		5.72	3			
Cigarettes, tobacco, alcoholic drinks		4.00	2			
Clothing		37.44	19			
Other		12.16	6			
Household goods		13.40	7			
Tools and equipment		16.70	8			
Copra					2.32	100
Total		198.70	100		2.32	100

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Table 11:5

Inonda: mean weekly transactions of storebought goods during each recording period

($)

Item		Period I	Period II	Period III
Rice	Acquisition	2.56	2.39	1.89
	Disposal	0.62	0.39	0.61
Tinned fish/meat	A	2.00	1.48	2.09
	D	0.39	0.14	0.40
Bread	A	0.67	0.79	0.71
	D	0.16	0.12	0.08
Sugar	A	0.79	0.92	0.53
	D	0.17	-	0.04
Sweet biscuits	A	0.74	0.41	0.50
	D	0.17	-	0.05
Prepared 'snacks'	A	0.33	0.70	0.38
	D	-	0.03	0.03
Flour	A	0.04	2.24	-
	D	-	0.15	-
All storebought goods (incl. those not shown)	A	15.40	14.70	16.35
	D	1.67	1.82	2.99

438 acquisitions and disposals of subsistence products, whereas sweet potato accounts for 18 per cent and yam 10 per cent of acquisitions, and the same crops account for 12 per cent and 15 per cent respectively of disposals. Of the crops that may be stored, yams are clearly a dry season crop in terms of exchange as well as of harvesting (see Table 7:3), but *Xanthosoma* and sago are significant later in the year also. The level of transactions of banana also increases in the dry season.

Although taro is still harvested during the dry season, there is a clear need to supplement it with other foodstuffs. This need is met in several ways: firstly, by production of sago, yams and manioc and by collection of green leaves and shoots. (These last substitute for pitpit, which is harvested only in the early part of the year.) Secondly, Table 11:4 suggests that Inonda receives net 'imports' of crops such as taro and sweet potato at this time from other villages. Thirdly, flour and rice are purchased, in addition to considerable quantities received as gifts from outside the village, [431] and the net acquisitions by the villagers amount to an average of 20 lbs of each commodity per week. All the households purchased either rice or flour and all acquired some through gifts. The fall in acquisitions of taro per week from period I to period II is 70 lbs, 438 daily exchanges of products between villagers when they have a temporary surplus, rather than a continuing specialisation. [433] Although some individuals do tend to concentrate more time than others on certain crops - as the widower in Inonda does with yams[1] - surpluses (and their counterpart, shortages) are frequently the [574] result as much of chance as of policy. Thus, near the end of the dry season a settler held a feast at short notice to mark the end [431] of a dispute with an Inonda man. The Inonda people decided not to make a return presentation at the same time since they had only sago available and would be humiliated if they offered this in return for the others' taro. In the event, contributions by people from the settlement blocks and other villages included more banana and sweet potato than taro.

The circulation operates at several different levels: the level of the village itself, that of a context which is more or less restricted to the occurrence of close kin and which, except perhaps for some affines, is only about three miles in radius, and finally the broader district level, which embraces greater environmental differences and is the sphere of operation of the comparatively [436] long-distance hawkers from both the coastal and mountain areas. At this level, the volume of exchange is small; it is not necessarily [178] based on kinship or even friendship ties and it is now almost entirely monetised.

(ii) Labour services. Labour assistance in the subsistence 437 sector shows a pronounced seasonality (see Table 11:6). This is largely due to the fact that 46 per cent of all the assistance 221 received in the subsistence sector during the survey was in sago-making and all of this occurred during three weeks in the dry season.

Table 11:6

Inonda: mean weekly transactions of labour services during each recording period (hours)

Labour services		Period		
		I	II	III
Cash sector	Acquisition	1.9	4.0	1.5
	Disposal	2.5	1.6	2.6
Subsistence sector	A	8.3	67.6	10.5
	D	11.5	38.8	4.7
Total	A	10.2	71.6	12.0
	D	14.0	40.4	7.3

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[1] Cf. pp.166-7.A

A,[See Category 512, pp. 166-167--Analyst]

511 434 [437] assistance in picking coffee, rather than to the traditional network of exchange. The relative significance of the different sources of income and directions of expenditure varies considerably between cash croppers as a group and non-cash croppers. The sources of income and directions of expenditure for the 11 months period are shown for these two groups in Table 11:14.

434 It is important to bear in mind in interpreting Table 11:14 that it represents a very small population and particular individuals have a great influence on the figures. In addition, whereas 10 of the people in cash cropping households were resident for at least half of the survey period, only 8 of the people in non-cash cropping households were and only 3 of these latter were under 40 years of age. Thus, opportunities for acquiring cash income were quantitatively less for the non-cash cropping group. A further distorting factor is the role of the researchers in causing increases in income and, perhaps, in substituting for expenditure in the cases of tobacco and clothing for instance. However, any attempt to exclude extraordinary sources of income would make the levels of expenditure difficult to explain, and the data for income from all sources are given.

Cash croppers receive 71 per cent of the total income of the
village and account for 78 per cent of the cash disposals. However,
sales of cash crops account for only 8 per cent of total income and,
with the OCGS dividend, for only 13 per cent of cash croppers' in-
[431] come. By contrast, contracts between the Administration and the
entrepreneur account for 19 per cent of total village income. Some
$43, or 6 per cent of total village income, is received from the
entrepreneur by other villagers in the form of payments and gifts.

Small gifts and loans are next in importance to the entrepreneur's
activities as a source of income for the village as a whole. The
cash croppers acquired most of this money, but it is relatively
more significant for non-cash croppers, owing to their lower level
of income. The same is true of marketing, which yields 11 per cent
[525] of total income, and, to a lesser extent, of paid employment, which
is more evenly divided between the two groups. Gambling winnings
came to the same amount as income from cash crops but, when losses
are taken into account, gambling is rather less rewarding although
it still accounts for 6 per cent of village income. Gifts from
wage earners comprise 13 per cent of the village income; such gifts
formed over one-third of the income of non-cash croppers, but only
5 per cent of cash croppers' income. The figures suggest these
gifts are made particularly to help relatives who have no income
from cash crops. It is noteworthy in this context that, of the
$16.50 received by cash croppers from wage earners within the District, $14.60 was received by the household that is only now
establishing a coffee garden and as yet, derives no income from it.

Table 11:21

Inonda: the geographical distribution of labour service transactions 437

Item	Acquisitions Labour, cash sector	 Labour, subsistence sector	 Total labour services		Disposal Labour, cash sector	 Labour, subsistence sector	 Total labour services	
Village	Percentage		hours	%	Percentage		hours	%
Inonda	54	56	350.7	56	54	83	351.2	80
Nahemo and Ajoro	-	1	7.5	1	-	1	4.0	1
Ijika	21	3	27.2	4	19	7	36.7	8
Mosou	-	1	7.2	1	-	3	10.5	2
Sewa	22	29	179.5	28	-	-	-	-
Evundo	-	-	2.0	-	-	-	-	-
Popondetta	3	-	1.5	-	-	1	2.7	1
Ururu	-	1	8.0	1	-	-	-	-
Kendata	-	8	47.6	8	-	-	-	-
Girua block	-	-	-	-	21	4	27.5	6
Banga	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.0	1
Jonita	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-
Urio	-	-	-	-	6	-	3.3	1
Total	100	99	631.2	99	100	100	439.9	100
Total hours	52.8	578.4			53.1	386.8		

although for some items the proportion derived from people or stores in Popondetta is considerably smaller. These latter include items widely-stocked in small village stores and items that circulate within the gift exchange system, such as rice, tinned fish and sweet biscuits. The prominence of Evundo as a source of non-traditional items was due to the opening of a store there in mid-1964 rather than to the links established with the road labourers' encampment. At both Ijika and the Girua block are trade stores where purchases were made, although gift exchanges were also effected with kin living there. Goods obtained from Saiho, Sangara and Ururu are exclusively gifts from kin in wage employment rather than purchases. As a result of the distribution of stores and of wage earning kin, over 55 per cent of the non-traditional goods acquired by Inonda people come from distances greater than five miles. Disposals by Inonda

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366
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

431 people, however, are almost entirely in the gift exchange system and conform more closely to the pattern of disposals of garden and forest produce. They include the sale of copra to the co-operative society at Oro Bay.

437 (iv) Cash. As with storebought goods, most cash is derived
from Popondetta (see Table 11:24), largely in payments from adminis-
[434] trative agencies for goods or labour. Over half that acquired from
Inonda represents payments by the entrepreneur to those who worked
on his contract. Similarly, acquisitions from Evundo and the Girua
block are also in the form of payments, from employment by the con-
[431] struction company and a settler respectively. The money from Oro
Bay was from the sale of copra. Other cash is in the form of gifts,
the main sources being villagers in Inonda and wage-earning kinsmen
in Ururu, Popondetta, Saiho and Madang. Since expenditure is
directed primarily to trade stores, the pattern of disposals of
cash is very similar to that of acquisitions of non-traditional
goods. Most goes to stores in Popondetta; disposals within Inonda
[651] include the payments to labour, purchases at the trade store and
gifts. Payments of tax to the Higaturu Local Government Council
account for over one-tenth of all cash disposals. Transactions of
significant sums of money are restricted to people or organisations

Table 11:24

Inonda: the geographical distribution of monetary transactions

	Acquisition		Disposal	
	Total $	Per cent	Total $	Per cent
Inonda	61.80	18	88.52	26
Ijika	3.10	1	9.10	3
Girua block	38.80	12	5.04	1
Mosou	4.94	1	5.60	2
Sewa	4.10	1	0.50	-
Evundo	17.20	5	28.06	8
Urio	-	-	5.92	2
Popondetta	169.40	50	152.30	45
Ururu	14.50	4	4.20	1
Jegerata	2.00	1	-	-
Saiho	4.00	1	-	-
Higaturu	-	-	38.00	11
Madang	12.00	4	-	-
Oro Bay	2.32	1	-	-
All other places*	3.20	1	3.46	1
Total	337.36	100	340.70	100

* Six in all for acquisitions; 8 in all for disposals.

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Plate 11. Taro, pigmeat, areca, rice and tinned fish on display in Inonda prior to presentation to a Girua settler.

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Plate 12. Stalls at Popondetta market, where people from Inonda frequently sell their produce.

433 434 As shown in Table 13:2, returns vary greatly, with some of the most favourable activities being pursued only by the entrepreneur in Inonda - a man who profits greatly by his personal contacts with a number of expatriates. By far the highest returns are obtained from marketing pig within the village, but dictates of custom restrict the frequent practice of this. While 'establishment' costs - in the sense of rearing pigs, growing produce, seeking contracts and employment, etc. - have been disregarded in estimating these returns they are, at the present stage of development, very low and often 'hidden' by subsistence sector requirements. Pigs are reared and garden produce grown as a part of the subsistence routine and their marketing is largely incidental; the decision to market wild game may only be taken after a successful hunting expedition; and the entrepreneur is well-known to the Administration as a reliable and resourceful individual and is often approached first about contracts.

The proliferation of cash-producing activities suggests one of three possibilities: that any single source of income, such as cash cropping is by itself inadequate; that cash cropping is not considered the best source of income; that demand exceeds the income from any one source. While opportunities vary greatly from one individual to another, the question of choice between individual activities seldom arises since many occur so irregularly that they cannot be considered reliable sources of income.

Two main considerations appear to determine preferred means for the acquisition of cash: firstly, reliability of income, and, secondly, size of individual cash payments. Each bears some relationship to the criterion of returns to labour but distinctive elements are also incorporated. An established demand for cash implies the need for a regular income and, among the range of activities, only cash cropping and the marketing of subsistence produce can provide this for the majority of villagers. If establishment costs are taken into account returns from the latter are higher, while its complete adjustment to the agricultural routine [435] renders it a more suitable activity for the subsistence farmer. However, the value per unit weight of garden produce marketed at Saiho is, at 2c per lb, insufficient to elicit serious interest in Sivepe, while its perishability, relative to cash crops, is an added deterrent. The unit value of smoked fish and meat sold by the Inonda people at Popondetta market is much higher (20c and 10c per lb respectively) but there are likely to be social pressures operating against the too-frequent commercial exploitation of these village resources: an opposition somewhat similar (in terms of the [431] utilisation of a scarce resource for personal gain) to that voiced in Sivepe to the sale of domestic pigmeat. While such an attitude was never overt during 1964 it serves as a partial explanation for the fact that individuals often distributed game through the gift exchange nexus when they could have sold it at the market.

434 438 each Saturday morning doubled in the 18 months prior to this study but still only about 15 families per week sent in produce for sale. Larger numbers of Yega attended on Saturdays following the fortnightly administration pay day than on the alternate Saturdays. Cash income obtained by Yega also more than doubled in the same period (from a weekly average of $1.35 per participating family in January 1963 to $2.80 per family in July 1964).

434 431 iii. Gifts from relatives in paid employment. In 1964 this was the main source of cash income of most Yega villagers. Almost invariably the young men in paid employment sent monetary gifts home to their relatives in the village. A sample group of 18 such workers earning an average $610 per annum in cash or kind remitted an average of $90 per head per annum to their relatives in the villages.

434 525 iv. Gambling. As gambling is illegal, people were reluctant to divulge details. Nevertheless, for some men gambling constituted an important source of income. The stakes in domestic games of 'Lucky' were usually betel nuts, but in games with outsiders always cash. Yega gamblers aimed particularly to relieve the workers on nearby plantations of their wages. On one observed occasion a Yega man won $86 in one night in such a game.

434 Sources of additional income for two sample groups are summarized in Table 3 below:

Table 3

Additional sources of cash income of Yega villagers during 1962

[431]

Classification	Personal effort	Gifts	Other*
Holders of cocoa blocks (sample of 25)	8	17	2
Non-holders of cocoa blocks (sample of 14)	8	9	Nil

* This includes savings and gambling (one informant in each). Some persons received income from two sources.

434 431 The holders of blocks received more gifts than non-holders of blocks. The main reason for this is that most blockholders had sons or brothers of working age. Many of these worked in paid employment and, by making gifts to blockholders, were ensuring reciprocity of gifts in the future. Table 3 shows only gifts received by people living at home. Monetary gifts were rarely given by the village people but when the 'outside workers' returned for holidays in the village they were fed, boarded and feasted free.

On the other hand, some feasts held today have no precise traditional equivalent. These include those associated with festivals of the local church; those to farewell or welcome home children attending distant schools, migrant workers and others; those to mark the opening of new churches, schools and medical aid posts; and finally and most recently, feasts or 'parties' to celebrate the birthdays of favoured children. 574 178

A birthday feast held in Inonda village in July 1962 illustrates changes taking place in some of the social and economic values of the community, and persistence in others. The celebration was held to mark the birthdays of the two adopted children (actually the illegitimate issue of two daughters) of a prominent local citizen, a retired mission teacher. It was the first such party held in this village, though similar parties had been held in neighbouring villages. Several villagers mentioned that they intended holding birthday parties for their first-born children. The idea was introduced by indigenous mission teachers who have attended birthday parties held by their European counterparts. 574 561 [177]

Few Orokaiva people are aware of the birth dates of their children and those few who are derive some satisfaction from the fact. In this instance, the children whose birthdays were being celebrated were a boy aged nine and a girl aged one. The party was said to be for both children, though 'mainly for the boy'. Their actual birthdays were said to have been 18 and 22 June respectively, but the feast was not held until the following Saturday as several of the villagers and many of those invited from outside the village work during the week as labourers for the Public Works Department, for a local engineering contractor and for local European planters. Almost all feasts and ceremonies conducted in this village today are held on Saturdays.

The host (the adopted father of the children) is not engaged in paid work and he and his wife, assisted by their three married daughters, spent the two preceding days gathering food from the gardens. Two of the daughters live in the same village as their father and the other in a village about six miles away. As all the host's male relatives in this village were employed at the time, he sent for his brother's grandson, a single man in a village about fifteen miles away, to come and assist. A small platform and a leaf shelter were built outside the host's house: the former to serve food on and the latter as shade for the visitors. 574 [343]

Taro was the main food provided, and of an estimated total contribution of 383 pounds, 128 pounds were brought by the host and his wife, 105 pounds by their three married daughters, 70 pounds by two clanswomen of the host's wife, and 80 pounds by three clanswomen of the host's eldest daughter's husband. 574 481 602

574 431 602 The two latter contributions require further explanation. Of the 70 pounds brought by the wife's kin, 40 pounds were given by a parallel cousin whose husband recognized a distant relationship to the host, and who had worked as a mission teacher with him. The remaining 30 pounds were given by a clanswomen (whose exact relationship we did not determine) who lives in a village a few minutes' walk away, and who frequently visits the host's wife. This woman's husband recognizes a distant relationship to the host. Of that given by the daughter's husband's relatives, 60 pounds were contributed by a mother and daughter whose husband and father had spent his life as a work associate of the host in a neighbouring village. The remaining 20 pounds were brought by a clanswoman whose kinship link was reinforced by her residence in Inonda and her marriage to another relative of the host.

With the exception of taro supplied by the host and his wife jointly, all taro was brought by females. They were all kin of either the host, his wife or his eldest daughter's husband. But of the many relatives of these people resident in the vicinity, only five contributed. Three of these had work associations with the host and the other two had subsidiary kinship links to the wife as well as being coresident or nearly so, and enjoying frequent social interaction with the host and his wife.[1]

574 178 In former times, we were told, the men now engaged in paid work would have gone hunting to obtain meat for a feast, and would have constructed more elaborate shelters and platforms as well as erecting poles for the stacking of food contributions in such a way that they could be measured and compared. The role of the men in the preparation of this feast was negligible by comparison.

574 431 The host intended to kill a domestic pig for the feast but it escaped after being shot. A European contractor whose labourers had been invited to attend gave a pig which he had purchased for $30. The only other fresh meat was a large hornbill donated by the leader of the clan with which the eldest daughter's husband lived.[2] These two men have engaged in many exchanges over the past few years.

574 Of a total of $9.83 worth of store foods supplied, $2.60 worth were purchased by the host himself from his savings, $7.08 worth

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[1] In addition to the above food, the husband of a daughter of the host used the occasion to give a pig and vegetables to one of his wife's mother's clansmen who had not shared in the bride-wealth previously given by the husband for his wife. The gift was taken back to the donee clansman's village for distribution.

[2] This man does not live with his own clan, but with that of his classificatory brother's wife.

by the eldest daughter's husband from his current earnings, and $0.20 worth by the husband of another of the host's daughters from his current earnings. The only other foods contributed were three bunches of bananas and sixteen lengths of sugar cane by the host and four bunches of betel nut and one bundle of betel pepper by the eldest daughter's husband and his son. 574

It is apparent that the men's traditional role of supplying fresh meat is being replaced by an obligation to supply store foods. In addition, informants confirmed that the range of men participating in the contributions had decreased markedly. The reason for the large donation of store foods and betel nut by the eldest daughter's husband was that as his family had all been killed and his property destroyed in the Mt Lamington eruption, he had not paid any bride-wealth at the time of his marriage. 574 178

A blackboard was displayed bearing a notice to the effect that all persons who were in receipt of wages were expected to contribute fifty cents and all others twenty cents. The host sat at the end of the food table and collected the cash (while a research assistant recorded the details of contributions and contributors). While most visitors expected as a matter of course to make some offering, they were not prepared for a fixed fee. There was therefore some delay and it was not until it was announced that those who did not have the full amount could contribute whatever they had that the people could be persuaded to make their contributions and partake of the food. Over half of those present had no money and consequently refrained from eating, though some close relatives who did not contribute were fed in the background. Several visitors privately expressed resentment at being asked for a money contribution.[1] 574 431 [126]

Contributions were received from 64 persons and ranged from eight cents to a dollar. Of a total of $12.15 received we were able to account for $10.88. Those who had brought food did not bring money with the exception of the labourers from the contractor's camp on whose behalf their employer had contributed a pig, and the husband of one of the host's daughters (who had given twenty cents worth of food) who gave ten cents in cash. Over half the money ($5.78) came from 31 persons who had no kinship ties with this village but were employees of European planters and of a contractor in the area or were indigenous settlers from a government resettlement scheme nearby. Of the balance, $2.10 was given by 15 relatives of the host from three different villages and

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[1] The labourers and settlers had been specifically invited to attend, but I am not aware of the extent of invitations sent to other villages.

574 £2.90 by 16 relatives of the host's eldest daughter's husband (the
one who had not been able to pay bride-wealth at the time of his
431 marriage).[1] The latter 16 relatives came from four different
villages. All but one of the total of 64 contributors of cash came
from villages other than Inonda.

Contributors came from eight different localities within a range of 16 miles. There were also approximately 70 other adults who attended but did not eat or contribute. Some were from this village but the majority came from other villages in the vicinity. There were also some 30 or so children present who were not included above.

574 The majority of the persons present attended because of their
residence in neighbouring communities and claimed no kinship links
178 with the hosts. In earlier times, informants say, it would have
602 been unusual for persons to attend a feast unless they were linked
to the hosts by ties of kinship, marriage, or residence in the same
village. Moreover, they claim, even in pre-war days it was unusual
for persons from so far afield to attend a relatively small personal
feast. Cash payment, it appears, is becoming an acceptable substitute for kinship links as a qualification to attend certain ceremonies.

574 Transfers of property at this feast differed markedly from those
in feasts of the traditional type. Firstly, the food was contributed
178 by a more restricted group, and was consumed not by all, but only
431 by those who paid. Secondly, cash was given in place of traditional
valuables (feather head-dresses, shells, arm-bands, necklaces, etc.);
and thirdly, there was no reciprocal exchange for the whole of the
cash was retained by the host who apparently does not acknowledge
any obligation to give reciprocal help to those who brought cash,
though he does recognize such an obligation to those who brought
food.

574 In this village many of the older people wear only loin cloths
made of *tapa*, but at the feast all but four men wore imported
292 clothing. The four who did not were older men who remained in the
shadows. A few men wore cotton lap-laps, but the majority wore
short trousers. All but three wore shirts - an item of clothing
that is rarely seen in the village. Quite a number wore plastic
sandals, though the majority were barefooted. All the women wore
cotton skirts and blouses, though in their daily work an in festivals
of the traditional type they almost never wear any garment above the
[302] waist. Four young men were daubed with face powder and one wore a
[301] spring of leaves in his hair. There were no other personal adornments. At taro festivals today, and at marriages, funerals and
[777]

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[1] See p.74.

241 is maintained today because, the Yega say,
423 it makes the work lighter if you have someone
613 to gossip with, and to share a watermelon or
a smoke during rest breaks. The effect is that,
at any one time, many people of a sub-clan
are using land to which they do not hold cultivation rights.

241 The granting of temporary rights to plant
423 a food crop is normal procedure. A right-holder frequently grants such rights to affinal
[602] kin of a different clan or even to an affinal
[614] kinsman from a neighbouring parish. An outsider granted such a right would *never* con-
[431] sider that he had any permanent right to Yega
land. He would simply give the right-holder a
[426] gift or, if asked, would lend land in return.

226 The Yega are coastal people and expert
fishermen. Fishing is an exclusively male
[462] occupation and fish have always been an
important food. Eleven reefs are known by
226 the Yega to exist off their strip of coast; rights
423 to fish over these reefs are held by the clans
whose ancestors first discovered them. Any
614 person who catches fish over a reef belonging
[431] to another clan must give a gift from his catch
to the right-holders. Fish are caught by many
different methods but the commonest nowa-
[177] days is by skin-diving with a home-made spear
gun and goggles made in Hong Kong.

SUBSISTENCE GARDENING

241 The Yega gardening routine is similar to the general procedure described earlier. The main features are universal inter-planting of a wide range of food plants and a shifting-field system which provides a continuous supply of fresh vegetable food. Some special features of Yega agriculture are worth noting. These are:

a) *The shifting-field cycle.* The average
241 length of the fallow period for twenty-one
242 swiddens investigated was 7·4 years. Such a figure is apt to be misleading. It tends to give the impression that New Guineans are much more organized than in fact they are. Some swiddens were fallowed for as little as two years . . . 'because my brother made his garden over there and I wanted to work near him!', while others had been left as long as thirteen years . . . 'because the soil isn't very good in this place.' Human factors as well as physical

[P-8-B]

439 buy cheap cloth and durable iron or
178 aluminium pots at the trade stores. Although
every housewife now has two or three large
415 manufactured pots, she keeps them for cook-
252 ing the food for feasts. Most of the daily meals
[437] are still prepared in clay pots but few of these
pots were obtained by the old barter methods;
[431] most were obtained as gifts from friends or
relatives. At one wedding, for example, the
585 bride received fourteen clay cooking pots, in
431 addition to a large supply of mats, string bags,
enamel plates, and dishes: enough to last for
years to come.

ECONOMIC CHANGE AND THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

178 A very close relationship exists between
economic change, particularly the planting of
361 cash crops, and changes in the pattern of
settlement. Although most development has
[173] occurred in the last twenty years, there is evi-
dence, supported by the oral traditions of Yega
elders, to show that some evolution of settle-
ment had occurred even before the first con-
173 tact with white men. By tradition the Yega
were sea people. This probably means that
361 they arrived as migrants and originally spent
most of their time aboard their canoes and
lived mainly upon seafood. They settled first on
three small islands, Baroda Deuga, about half
a mile north-east of Waususu Point (Fig. 9).
[133] These islands are today only a few feet above
high tide and are composed entirely of coarse

[P.12-A]

18: Dakeyne K-5 (1962-1964) 1969
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Yega

464 166 Absence from the village, particularly by working-age males, is now an established social pattern among the Yega. Fifty-one per cent of all adult males are absent, in paid employment. For unmarried men, the percentage is seventy-seven. Of 100 adult men working away from the village, twenty-three had been away for ten years or more; in four instances separation from the village was virtually complete, three having never revisited their village and one only once in thirteen years. This means that many Yega can no longer be classified as 'temporary' absentees. However, most wage-earners still return to their village for annual holidays.

434 431 All wage-earners send a portion of their earnings to their older kinsmen who remain at

178 [P.17-A]

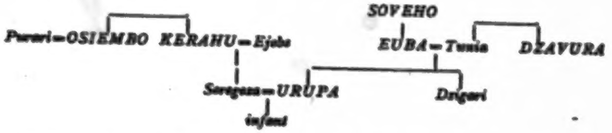
554

434 home in the villages. By doing this, they are
431 bringing about changes in the established
178 rules of leadership in village life. Under tradi-
tional custom, improvement in status was
554 associated with the ceremonial distribution of
goods: the recipients were placed under obli-
gation to repay in similar kind at some future
date, or else lose status. Among the Yega, the
older recipients of gifts in cash or manufac-
tured goods find it impossible to repay such
gifts. As a result there has been an increase
in the prestige of young or middle-aged, edu-
cated men. An instance of this trend was the
almost unanimous election, in 1964, of such
[666] a person, recently returned from paid employ-
[659] ment, as the Yega's first councillor on the Oro
Bay Local Government Council.

[P.17-B]

the final situation is satisfactorily sorted out. In such ways, incidentally, it is probable that new clans are formed. 000

Another factor which must inevitably delay re-building is the activity needed to re-establish social connections. When I was at Popota village one week-end I checked on food that was being eaten, and found that although the children were carefully fed with nuts, pumpkin tops and other valuable foods, the adults were either going without food altogether or eating the despised wild yam; their taro gardens were rotten or choked with weeds. I noticed with surprise a group of people, heavily laden with bags of taro, hurrying along the road. They walked straight into the village and up to a house, and a few minutes later I heard the noise of crying and wailing. A group of nine people were sitting in two rows facing each other under the shadow of a humpy. The relationship of the whole group, with the exception of two unrelated village women, is expressed in the following diagram (capitals signifies men, lower case women). 731 262 574 593



Kerahu and Ejobe lived in Popota, and their daughter Seregeza married a Sasembata man. When the volcano erupted parents and daughter were evacuated in different directions, and although from time to time they heard news of each other they were unable to see each other. When they returned to their villages the daughter's first thought was to visit her parents, but this could not be done until a humpy had been built and a present of food collected. On this day that they met the procedure was almost automatic: it was like a well-rehearsed play in which every actor knew his part. Seregeza sat down with her baby, and her father gently cried by her side. Her mother sat in front of her, embracing her and crying in a wail: [731] [431]

Nau kahare isio tungenu

Ijoia pouta isio tungenu.

This was translated for me as "I am the girl who was chased away, to other countries, other places chased away." Meanwhile Urupa and his family squatted on mats facing the crying group and chewing areca nut, and Purari with a village woman relieved Seregeza of her bag of taro and began peeling it. The wailing continued for about an hour, other friends and relatives joining the group, and then conversation became general and food was eaten. [516] [276]

In such ways are the social connections remade. And some thought and activity is being devoted to other ends as well—the dance, for instance. Although there was no desire evident to conduct large mortuary feasts for those who had been killed, it may be expected that, as gardens come back into bearing, individuals will 731 765

177 Orokaiva and whites developed at Ilimo were rather unusual. He quoted other Europeans making remarks to him such as that the experience "drew us all much closer together." A planter who was helping the organisation and staying in the camp commented that the people came to talk to him far more often than before.

177 657 There were altogether some 14 Europeans attached to Ilimo--two medical assistants, two nurses, two government teachers, one agricultural expert and the others administration workers, mission workers, etc. Mr. Kaad, though himself a Roman Catholic, made it a rule for the whole European staff, including himself, to attend the daily religious services, "to show the people we were with them." Food distributions were made daily through the village constables, blankets and medical supplies were available as needed, adult education classes were almost daily organised for both men and women, the agricultural officer demonstrated techniques and supervised the gardening programme, the Isivita people from Oro Bay were brought over to reunite families, and Kaad himself began to speak in favour of economic development in the future. Even such a bald summary indicates a far more intensive contact with Europeans at Ilimo than the Orokaiva generally experienced either before or since.

[829] Kaad's own comments place this experience in its proper perspective. He remarked that Ilimo camp showed the government in a good light, and that people responded especially when they found that they could go back to their villages. This comment indicates that the generous gifts of the Australian government did not, by themselves, lead to a removal of the Orokaiva fears and suspicions of Orokaiva motives. One question in people's minds was whether the government, having given the food and other comforts, would now feel entitled to seize land near the volcano. It was only when this suspicion proved unfounded that relations became genuinely warm, for only then were people sure that they were not the victims of trickery.

From our own knowledge of Australian administration we can easily see that Orokaiva fears of land alienation were wholly unfounded but, on the basis of their knowledge, the Orokaiva reasoned perfectly logically.
[431] First of all, it is regular Orokaiva custom, when one makes gifts, to have in mind a claim one wishes to make for a return gift. Thus, having accepted Australian gifts, the Orokaiva were naturally anxious to
[423] find out what would be demanded in return. Furthermore, the fear that the Australians might demand land which was unoccupied and uncultivated was based on past experience and on provisions actually on the Statute Book (Native Plantation Ordinance 1925-1934, repealed in 1960). According to this ordinance, land could be alienated where there appears to be no owner and also for the purpose of "technical education of natives in agriculture." It is a matter of historical fact that the Australians acquired some choice land in the Orokaiva district under these provisions prior to the second world war. (Information: P. Sebire.)

794 organised contact. After each Sunday service, a meeting of the church
council is held at the church, presided over by the pastor, at which
the needs of the parish are discussed. The pastor may also call
[431] meetings during the week. No payment is ever made for work done for
the church, but the pastor has on occasion made a small distribution
of tobacco, at which the people were very pleased. Much of the burden
falls on the member of the church council for each of the villages.
[623] While the after-service meetings at the church are open to all church
members, the council has its own meetings and the member for the village
has an especially close relationship with the church. It is he who
calls together the people in the morning when building work is to be
done, or who makes other announcements, in the usual way by standing
in front of his house in the evening and speaking in the dark, heard
by everyone in the houses.

614 This man belongs to the plant emblem group baptised in the early
1950's, but interestingly enough he did not, like most of the early
613 converts belong to the Jegase clan. Plant emblem groups (or lineages)
794 are not necessarily segments of a clan and in this case the sasaha
plant emblem group includes a few Seho people, who were baptised with
the rest of their lineage. It was one of these Seho men who was
chosen as church councillor, the choice being reportedly made by the
[224] pastor himself. Shortly before my arrival in Sivepe, this man was
given the office of hunting expert. Previous to this, every clan had
had its own hunting expert, but now this church council member was the
only one. The task of the hunting expert is the performance of magic
prior to a collective hunt, decision of the time and place and the
privilege of being the first man who enters the bush, together with
his wife, for hunting. "What kind of magic does Dunstan perform?"
I inquired. He invites the pastor down to the village and the pastor
blesses the guns and other appurtenances of the hunt, while the old
magic is no longer performed. In the neighbouring village of Sasembata,
I found that this innovation had not been adopted.

794 In Inonda, all religious organisation was in the hands of the
transport driver and one-time councillor, who played the role of lay-
184 preacher on Sundays, using as a chapel a building originally intended
for the storage of coffee. Church was attended by the Christian half
of the village but I saw no Christian activities apart from the weekly
service. The mission teachers and the Anglican school were located
at Hohota, three miles away from Inonda. Most of the modern organisation
roles noted for Sivepe were, in fact, found at Inonda but every one of
them was allocated to the same man, the transport driver. He acted as
"committee;" he made the kind of speeches that were made in Sivepe by
the councillor and the sanitary inspector (these functionaries very
rarely came to Inonda); he was middleman for the mission; he was
agricultural entrepreneur and his father was the feasting leader,
leaving to him the day-to-day organisation of the feast given in June,
1967. The price for this far-reaching centralisation was a lack of
participation in most of the activities by at least half the population,
whereas participation was far more general at Sivepe.

652 expected to levy. He wrote his Bishop that he would not collect the
tax. His letter seems to have been only one trickle in a river of
871 non-cooperation and I never found out whether the government prevailed
over the missions.

971 This controversy casts some light on Orokaiva attitudes to
education. By standards of Orokaiva wealth, parents are making a
[431] major voluntary contribution in money, labour and materials, not with
the idea of "paying for their children's eduction," but in order to
make appropriate return gifts for the services rendered by the mission.
The principle governing this transaction is reciprocity, but not
contract. Thus, the Orokaiva contribution to their children's education
differs from a tax in three crucial ways:

(a) It is specifically given to the mission, towards whom the people feel an obligation and not to the government, to which they do not feel beholden for their children's education. (This obstacle could be overcome only if the government succeeded in explaining the Department of Education budget in the villages.)

(b) It is regarded as voluntary, according to the principle
[558] of reciprocity. People contribute from goodwill and generosity, the
only possible sanction for a non-contributor being a diminution of
social status. (If an education tax is levied, the sanction is refusal
to admit children to schools. This rule already applies in administration schools.)

(c) Contributions are made only partly in cash, but consist mainly of labour and materials which are not readily marketable in the villages. (If the payment is entirely in cash, this cash has to be earned outside the village or by cash-cropping. Resources such as sago and blackpalm cannot be used as a contribution to education.)

I have shown at various points in this report that Orokaiva
value their children's school education highly. In Sasembata,district,
the men worked for the mission long before anyone was baptised and
their motive was, as they told me, to see that their children could
[829] go to school. When I asked why they wished this, they answered that
this was the only chance for the children to be able to obtain the
same wealth as the Europeans and become equally powerful. It is
consistent with this reasoning that the Orokaiva have never been very
disturbed by what may seem to us the strange policy of conducting
lessons in the English language. It has so far been enough for the
Orokaiva to see that the only Papuans who have obtained wealth and
power have been those who were educated in the school and who have
[191] gained some knowledge of English. It is only among the educated
Orokaiva that one hears arguments for the Papuans and New Guineans
being educated in a language of their own.

177 large extent to the bloodbath of these early days. It was he to whom,
657 above all others, the compulsive show of obedience Orokaiva make to white men can be attributed. It is therefore interesting to inquire what was the influence of Papuan culture on Monckton.

In order to show the atmosphere in which Monckton operated I shall quote a minor example (bypassing some cruder and more obvious passages of his books in which he describes shootings, floggings, tortures, etc.) where a sorcerer is brought before Monckton's court, accused of such crimes as causing a virgin of a distant tribe to produce still-born twins and causing the moon to alter its course and colour. Monckton advised the accused, so we are told, to plead "not guilty." "But I _am_ guilty. I should not be much of a sorcerer if I could not do a little thing like that." In such cases, says Monckton (1922: 98). "The sorcerer would get a fine or a few months' imprisonment," Monckton explains that the New Guinea administration made witchcraft a crime punishable by law as a means of establishing respect for white man's law in the eyes of the Papuans.

[431] Monckton was very well aware that he was thus lending himself to a reciprocal transaction in which each side proffered the other a certain measure of prestige. The white man was most graciously given by the sorcerer a demonstration of his respect for the white man's law; in return Monckton (quite consciously, by his own admission) helped the sorcerer to "establish his reputation as a man capable of marvelous things, a man to be feared and conciliated with gifts" (ibid.: 99). On what basis, then, was the white man's law respected? It was on the principle of exchange which dominates and has always dominated Orokaiva social relations. (On this topic, see my doctoral dissertation.)

Monckton always bought his loyalties in this precise fashion. On one occasion (1934: Chapter 1) he invoked Papuan help to kill off a few troublesome marauders on the tacit understanding that the captors would be allowed to eat them. He appointed as his constabulary persons of high rank from various districts so that the Papuans would be afraid to kill the constables: their death might induce their own people to start a tribal war against the killers. In return the constables knew that their own villages would be quite safe from Monckton's bloodthirsty attentions. Furthermore, Monckton tells us that he was in the habit of making presents to his constables, paid for out of his own pocket, over and above whatever was supplied by the government. With these presents, he bought a kind of personal loyalty which was over and above that owed by the constables to their employing government. On one occasion his constabulary marched into Government House to protect Monckton while he was the guest of the governor.

Monckton admits that he made himself rather unpopular with the officials of Port Moresby. Neither the crudity of his methods nor the means by which he procured the special attachment of his praetorian guard were regarded as proper in a British officer. Some of his exploits, 177 797 the people. When the Japanese were gone he went back to his old village; around 1946 he took over a school at Sewa, established after the war in a hitherto heathen area. Moses told people to build school rooms, houses for the teachers and a church. The people worked hard on these projects because they wanted to send their children to school. The school served a number of mountain villages in the vicinity of Sewa.

After the eruption, Moses, who had fled to Inonda, was transferred by the Bishop, first to the mission station at Gona, later to Togahou. About 15 months later, he was posted to Inonda, following an appeal from the Sewa people to the Bishop. This group had not had schooling since the eruption. At Inonda, Moses asked for a house to be built for him as well as a school. His pupils included children not only from Sewa, but also Hohota, Hiriju, Ureo, Hosou, Ajoro and Dobuduru. [582] Two of his daughters married Inonda men, one married an Ajoro man. When the Sewa people returned home, Moses stayed with his affines. With regard to gardening land, he is essentially no better off than the pastor at Sasembata. His Inonda affines lend him gardens from year to year. He also plants gardens at Hohota, owned by affines and a deacon. (See Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 33-35.) After he retired from teaching in 1959, his status soon dwindled. Crocombe (1966) has published an account of an initiation feast he held for his daughter's son. In keeping with his former role, this was given a highly acculturated flavour. It was on a larger scale than most of such feasts; Crocombe thought this was "to reaffirm his prestige and reinforce his stake in the village of his residence." (Ibid.: 78)

This was the man who brought Christianity to Inonda and the surrounding villages and who thus, in the context of culture change, must certainly be ranked a one-time "key personality." Yet his present status is demonstrably marginal. It is better than the Sasembata pastor's because he has affines to call upon, but the obligations of affines are strictly circumscribed: marriage gifts, help, if necessary sustenance. All these have been well provided; the affines have been good, even generous. Nor need the pastor fear for his descendants: they will be helped, in the usual Orokaiva way, by their paternal [423] relatives if they stay in Inonda or Hohota. But gifts of land are not regarded as an appropriate reward for missionary services rendered [431] by individuals.

Section 3: Residents of the Community

177 Among the key personalities in Sivepe over the period under consideration there were resisters as well as promoters of change. Among the resisters was undoubtedly Isemba, leader of the Seho clan, who died (unbaptised) in 1963. While this man was alive none of his clan joined the church; he did, however, agree with school education. [797] I was not able to learn much about him except that he was most knowledgeable about the holding of feasts and their magic and that he feared [754]

CHAPTER X: Esprit de Corps

621 The problem of developing group consciousness in a new village,
created by aggregating the population from several villages in one
731 place, is a very considerable one under Orokaiva conditions. Each
village group tends to be a tight unit and it is a long time before a
feeling of unity will develop between the groups thus thrown together.
In a place such as Hohorita, which consists of the remnants of about
12 villages, the creation of an esprit de crops (in Linton's sense,
1936: 92-94) is a lengthy and hazardous business.

I was able to observe the same situation in Sivepe in 1966,
though on a much smaller scale. Sivepe, as I mentioned before, consisted
of a core of people who lived in Pamba before the eruption and two
groups who arrived since, one from Binduta in 1956 and one from Garombi
in 1966. The extent to which these groups have been "integrated"
into the village will appear at once if one looks at the spatial
[361] arrangement of the village. As I pointed out, the ideal plan of this
village was an arrangement of two parallel facing rows. Now all the
long-established families, with one exception, followed this plan,
but none of the new arrivals did. The Garombi arrivals built on a
piece of land just above the village, on land owned by a Sorovi man
who stayed behind in G rombi. The Binduta arrivals built next to the
Garombi ones, on attractive sites overlooking the rest of the village.
None of them followed the house plan decided upon by the rest. Thus
they gave all the appearance of a group apart, and the symbolic
significance of such behaviour would never be lost upon the Orokaiva.
When asked about this arrangement, people would describe it to me as
temporary.

621 In the daily presentations of food between residences, these
families would most often send food to one another, rather than to
[431] other families in the village, but this was natural, as their own
mutual ties were closest. At the same time, I recorded a reasonable
number of gifts travelling from the top of the hill down to the village
and conversely; there was certainly no rigid separation there. A
number of kinship and friendship ties existed between the new arrivals
and the older families; these ties were fostered by regular exchange
[578] presentations of one sort or another. I have referred to one conflict
between a Garombi arrival and a woman from the centre of the village.
This was an isolated case, as there was no sign of conflict between
the groups, nor did this flare-up lead to continued bad relations.
One could say that an esprit de crops was gradually forming, and that
the merger looked satisfactory.

621 On the other hand, the hazards were obvious when one looked
at the settlers from Binduta. When conflict developed, as in the
684 attempted rape case, the man from Binduta was in a weak position.

121 829 that instead of timeless constructs of primitive philosophers we are occupied with a series of historical events both before and after the eruption, all of which became signs much in the same way as the eruption; the explanation will take the form of the tracing of associations between these signs. There are, however, some stable principles governing these connections. We turn to these first.

829 431 I have argued elsewhere that the social structure of the Orokaiva is characterized by a weak patrilineality with small corporate groups but that exchange transactions between these groups are, in many respects, highly structured (Schwimmer 1970a, n.d.). These exchanges follow rules which are justified by an elaborate system of thought arising out of the principle that gift making is the source of social potency and exchange is the measure of that potency. Such a system, by its very nature, makes no assumptions about the permanency of social associations, as it is only the success of exchange transactions that allows associations (outside the small corporate groups) to endure. Decisions about the upkeep of particular associations are of necessity determined by criteria of allocation. According to Orokaiva ideas, associations go through alternating periods of positive reciprocity (friendship) and negative reciprocity (war). Whereas in Western thought permanence is considered normal and quarrels a deviation from the norm, the Orokaiva do not envisage either friendship or enmity as permanent states but rather as alternating temporary states.

829 571 The implication of this philosophy for social relations (and this includes Orokaiva-white relations) is that they never are what a Westerner would call "friendly" or "hostile." It would be more correct to say that at any given time they may be going through a positive (friendly) or negative (hostile) cycle. Movements from positive to negative cycles tend to be gradual, since in the Orokaiva view social relations tend to deteriorate constantly, little by little, until they become hostile. On the other hand, movements from negative to positive cycles tend to be highly dramatic and ritualized—usually through reconciliation feasts and gifts. In relations with Europeans, reconciliations are harder to effect since there is no commensality between the ethnic groups.

If it is natural for social relations to deteriorate constantly and gradually, it is still possible to decide that one will allow an association to deteriorate before one takes active steps to restore it. Such a choice is determined by many factors: intrinsic attraction

829 627 weapon, since the person who cuts down his own tree to injure himself shows anger about a hostile act perpetrated by some unnamed person. He thus makes a claim for community sympathy and possible restitution (Williams 1940). Self-accusation is a form of self-injury and therefore at once places an obligation on the *sufferer* of the supposed original injury. In this sense an acknowledgment of guilt by Orokaiva would place some obligation on Sumbiripa or God to forgive them. Thus we can never ignore the transactional element in what is manifestly a sincere state of contrition.

731 784 797 It is far more complicated to explain the anger of the Christian God, and people's belief in it, than to explain the anger of Sumbiripa. At the time of the eruption, few Orokaiva had been baptized, whereas it was precisely in Sangara territory that the mission was well established and had many adherents. Most of the persons who thought they had been punished by God were actually still pagan, which strictly should have put them out of reach of his wrath. We need to reconstruct as best we can what kind of exchange relationship was deemed to exist in 1951.

We can appraise this only if we consider briefly the total system of relationships of the Orokaiva within the colonial macrosystem, namely the social unit comprising Orokaiva, mission, government, and traders. Theories about the punishment of God referred not only to Orokaiva neglect of the mission but also neglect of instructions and advice given by the government. The traders were never mentioned.

[657] [797] One common characteristic of government and mission is that both institutions believe they are the Papuans' benefactors and say so on many occasions. In particular, it is on these supposed benefits that they base any moral claims they make on the Orokaiva. When the eruption occurred it was therefore reasonable, from the Orokaiva viewpoint, to conclude that their slowness in satisfying the claims of government and mission had aroused in them great anger and that God, who manifestly was looking after the white authorities, acted as agent of the punishment.

829 431 177 In exchange relations it is a fixed policy to satisfy the claims of important partners first and be much slower about the others. The fact that the whites, in spite of their immense wealth, had a fairly low partnership ranking is not difficult to explain. If we glance at the kind of interaction typical of the years 1900 to 1950, we find

829 that the European exchange partner did not have a great deal to
offer the Orokaiva, because not even money was essential. Conversely,
431 the fear of the trouble the white man might cause was not
177 so great as one might suppose. Certainly, there were horrifying
stories about what the white man might do if angered, but the
Orokaiva had since learned some simple rules telling them how
such anger could be most conveniently evaded.

657 Until World War II, the relationship between the Orokaiva and
the government followed this general pattern almost entirely. The
177 government made the regulations and the Orokaiva did the unavoidable
minimum. World War II began to change the pattern of
177 this partnership. Australian and American soldiers moved into the
Northern District to drive out the Japanese. They camped in the
bush, they shared their food with the Orokaiva, they accepted
Orokaiva hospitality, they generously distributed what supplies
they had to spare. The white soldier, unlike the civilian, lived in a
style much closer to what the Orokaiva consider human. He
laughed and joked in the presence of the Orokaiva; he put on no
colonial pretense.

657 After the war, the Australian government changed its policy in
the territory, suppressing corporal punishment of employees, emphasizing
177 economic development in the villages, improving
schooling, introducing local self-government on a limited scale
(and later political representation in the House of Assembly), offering
Papuans jobs of some responsibility, and discontinuing the
type of village policing that made all reforms dependent on the enforcement
of regulations. The village constables, whose job was in
practice confined to reporting infractions of the regulations, were
replaced by elected officials (local government councillors) who
are indoctrinators rather than policemen. They harangue the people
with a diffuse message covering a wide area of social and economic
development. They seek to secure acceptance for new ideas,
so that people will genuinely believe in the usefulness of changes
they are making.

When I visited the Orokaiva in 1966–1967, I found a great deal
657 of ideological discussion, the key concept being *iji eha* ('the new
179 day, the new age')—a new way of life based on the economics of
coffee growing and wage earning, the social amenities of improved
villages, school education, Christianity, avoidance of violence,
and, generally, cooperation with the mission and administration. I

571 But for most everyday purposes, the cooperative alliance is even smaller and
does not extend beyond the three-generation family.

Relations with uterines, affines, and more distant agnates (that is, those
571 beyond the lineage, and those who are resident in other villages) follow the
604 pattern of competitive exchange. An example of what this implies would be
881 the role of mother's brother as officiator at initiations. Elsewhere, (Schwimmer, 1970b) I show that ideologically, he is the proper person for the office, but that the father's brother and even the father would do as well. The mother's brother is not obliged to act; he is paid if he acts; furthermore he will act only if prior to an initiation, the neophyte involved has obliged his uncle by rendering him small services and being pleasant to him. Certainly the mo/bro si/so relationship is a warm affectionate one, but it is explicitly free from unconditional obligation. It is, in fact, the first formal relationship into which a person enters, where prestations on both sides are by free choice.

602 How can we explain that, at least in Sasembata, the Orokaiva classify
guest friends with the sibling group (by applying the terms *apa/eambo* to
572 them), whereas the Tangu use an affinal idiom? The answer is that siblingship
171 has different connotations in the two tribes. Burridge (1969) emphasizes, above all, the amity that must govern the relationship between senior and junior siblings among the Tangu. If the junior sibling becomes unduly competitive, it is not held against him, but the relationship is redefined so that he becomes a *mwerkindang* – a competitor instead of a subordinate and protégé. The Orokaiva do not permit such a change in status; the younger brother must obey or sever his relations with his family. Moreover, the *apa/eambo* relationship is not confined to the cooperative alliance but includes distant agnates and all uterines within the exogamous group. A good deal of competition and exchange normally occurs between such kin, although the ideology of the *apa/eambo* relationship is basically that of a corporate group pooling resources for the support and protection of its members.

Secondly, the custom of classifying guest friends with siblings is not
431 general among Orokaiva; the Sangara use the term *namei*. Furthermore,
437 terminology is as much an ideological device as a reflection of reality. Use of
apa/eambo means that people should behave *as if* they were siblings; that is,
572 make free gifts instead of exchange gifts. These terms may be used when one seeks to extract a presentation from a comparative stranger, in which case they mean little more than an appeal *ad misericordiam*. In an hereditary friendship in which it is unusual to make claims, the terms signify that the gifts made to a visiting friend are not repayable but free. Certainly, it would
[576] be considered wrong to press claims on the basis of such gifts. On the other
hand, the host is expected (*not* merely permitted) to make a return visit, and
[626] if he does not present gifts on that occasion, he will certainly be the subject
of gossip and loss of reputation.

[558] In considering the manner in which these gifts are given, Sahlins'

431 (1965) distinction between generalized and balanced reciprocity may be
437 useful. Let us note, however, that the relationship between the fictional *apa/eambo* is one where kin distance is infinite (they are not kinsmen) so
572 that according to Sahlins' model, balanced reciprocity should apply. Instead, the norm is generalized reciprocity, as one gives all one has, be it much or little. The crux of the *apa/eambo* relationship, real or fictional, is that prop-
[421] erty is pooled and belongs to all members of the group equally. When brothers live together, or when they hold land in common and thus are able to live together, such pooling occurs perpetually. Hereditary friends meet rarely – frequently not even as often as once a year. Thus, their ability to use the pool, or contribute to it, is limited. But the manner of giving emphasizes an ideology that is a pooling relationship. Hence, the return visit is obligatory for the host: the gifts given with the first visit express symbolically a statement by partner A to B: "you are my brother." But for the relationship to persist, B must be able to reply in the same idiom: "you, A, are my brother," and he can make this statement only by presenting gifts in his own village.

(601) The ambiguity is now clear: the hereditary friendship relation is one between partners who act out the role of brothers. It is possible to show this ambiguity on the formal level of kinship terminology by inquiring into the term of reference and address used for the wife of an hereditary friend. By the rules of the kinship system, she should be called *hovatu*, but she is in fact called *du*, as the restraints of the affinal relationship are considered too irksome.

Changes in Group Membership Status

From what has been said above, it is clear that the principle of generalized reciprocity holds with regard to the equivalence of gifts between friends. The mythological charter explicity states that a small gift in times of shortage, is to be deemed equivalent to a large gift in times of abundance. On the other hand, the principle of balanced reciprocity holds concerning the pattern of exchanges, in that every visit is followed by a return visit, at the end of which balance is expected to be achieved.

572 Let us consider the development of friendship relations. In the course of a
628 lifetime, a person meets many strangers of whom the congenial ones may become *otavo* or fictional *simbo*. He will be especially attracted to a few with whom he establishes a permanent kin-like bond, either on the *apa/eambo* or the *simbo* model. Occasions for such encounters may be feasts between previously hostile groups so that the groups of which the hereditary friends are members may not share the friendly feelings of the individuals who have become *otavo*, *namei*, *jao*, *simbo*, and the like. Thus, inter-community conflicts may come and go and the bond may continue over the generations. Far from this being a betrayal of group loyalties, the friendship

572 628 bond is respected by both sides and utilized for purposes of mediation. The friend is not an ally in war, but his person is sacrosanct.

Hereditary friendships are more likely to fade naturally and quietly than to die violently in a quarrel. On the other hand, they may become converted 621 to affinal bonds or lead to co-residence, in which case an entirely new pattern 572 arises. It is possible for migrants into a village to have no bonds other than those of hereditary friendship with their chosen hosts. But once co-[166] residence is established, the new arrivals soon become involved in intracommunity politics along the lines suggested by Watson (1970): one of the existing factions woos the new arrivals to its side. A strong bond soon develops between the immigrants and the faction into which they are drawn. Intermarriage is likely to follow. A study of the composition of Orokaiva clans (see Schwimmer, 1970a) suggests that they are most often composed of a number of groups differing in local origin. These groups did not generally bear the same clan name prior to settlement, and sometimes they had no relatives at all in the village where they settled. (Still, it would be more usual for at least some members of the migrating group to have connections in the new place.) In the case of the Sorovi people who migrated to Sivepe in 1966, these connections were often of the fictive (friendship) *apa/eambo* type.

572 *Apa/eambo* and *jao* relationships are inherited bilaterally; that is, passed on to both the sons and the daughters of the partners. The only restriction is that both members of the partnership must be of one sex; hence if partner A has only sons and partner B has only daughters, the partnership will die. Similarly, it may die if the age differences in any generation are too great. Even so, under bilateral succession, one would expect that people would recognize far more of these partnerships than in fact they do.

We don't know for how many generations they actually last. Friendship bonds are remembered exactly as long as genealogical bonds – for two generations senior to ego – but some may in fact be more ancient. Friendship bonds are most likely to be kept up when partner A has no kinsmen in partner B's village. Thus, they fill gaps in the network. They are put under strain when hostility develops between the two villages, although even then the friendship bond often survives.

Friendship Obligations and their Ideological Basis

572 (a) ***Apa/eambo*** or ***namei***. The ceremony of receiving a guest friend differs in some ritual features from the hospitality shown to affines and to con- 431 sanguineal competitive exchange partners. When the latter pay formal visits, 574 gifts are made on arrival. Sometimes, the guest does not sit down or allow his string bag to touch the ground until he is satisfied with the gifts offered. This is especially true if the partners are to reconcile a quarrel. Amicability begins after business is concluded. The gifts, in such cases, are made by the

572 host family only. If the guests do contribute, this happens behind the scenes so that the host still appears as the sole donor.

431 When the guest is an hereditary friend, the host supplies a pig and
574 valuables (such as feathers, ornaments, and nowadays, also money), while other villagers openly present the vegetable foods; the visit is incomplete without such participation. However, the gifts are not presented when the guest arrives. First, he is fed vegetables and meat (this is *pondo* or feast; an ordinary meal contains no meat); he converses with his host and sleeps in the host's house. No mention is made of gifts until the moment of his departure. If he hears any plans of gift-giving, he would be expected to refuse the gifts. The pig is killed secretly, away from the village. At the moment of departure, the guest is confronted with his presents, which he can no longer refuse.

We note that the symbolism throughout is appropriate to the cooperative type of relationship: amicability is not conditional upon the host's prestations; the guest does not desire the host to part with his substance. The host does not give demonstratively but stealthily, emphasizing the intrinsic rather than the extrinsic benefits the partners get out of the relationship. But in the wife's sorrow over the loss of her pig (a metaphoric child; cf. Schwimmer, 1970b), a more complex phenomenon occurs: she does emphasize her loss, though inconspicuously (only a strip of cloth tells the story: she tears off a piece of her skirt and uses it to truss the pig to a stick).

Even without this touch, the departing guest knows that the gifts he has received include some of his host's most treasured possessions. Having been in the position of a departing guest, myself, I am perhaps able to understand how Orokaiva experience it. As I was leaving Sivepe, and after all formal leave-taking was over, an old man from another village came to offer me one of his most valuable birds of paradise which everyone knew to be a source of pride to him. As I was unable (and not expected) to give anything in return at this time, it was an irreplaceable loss. There was no expectation of future gain but only the expression of a bond. These are the symbols they live by; this is how a previous stranger is lodged in the centre of their social world. Thus, it is absurd to call such friendship peripheral. The old man's bird of paradise was anything but peripheral; it was his most prized possession (almost his only possession). It was, in fact, the magic by which the nature of the relatiónhip was transformed from a peripheral to a central one.

Certainly, such a relationship is largely free of kin obligations, almost as free as Burridge suggests with regard to the Tangu. Obligations are not wholly absent, even though they cannot be expressed in a kinship or economic idiom. The bond is based on feelings of attraction towards the personal qualities of an individual and it develops out of various types of shared experience. Unrelated males who are initiated together become *namei. Otavo* of all kinds (see section on Simbo, p. 65) may eventually become *namei.*

431 But recruitment to this status is not restricted to specific categories; any two
572 people can become *namei*. These bonds provide some measure of control
over the flow of information, and a prudent man will establish them in places
574 where such control is important. They serve to set up channels of information where they are lacking in the kinship-generated network. Unfortunately, neither my Orokaiva data nor any other Oceanic data provide much specific information on the channels which these relationships open up, although Burridge has referred to Tangu friendship as providing "a form of communication." On this basis, a friend's obligations would be to spread the renown of your friend, speak in his favour if others criticize him, advise him of anything that is being undertaken against him, and so forth. In practice, anthropologists have often overlooked such obligations towards their friends in the field.

(b) *Jao*. An important source of hereditary friendships, perhaps the most
572 important of all, are *jao* relationships: friendships between unrelated women.
A woman uses the term *jao* to address the wife of any *hovatu* (brother-in-
[591] law) when these two women are unrelated. A consequence of the rule of
virilocal marriage is that the married women in a village tend to be unrelated
[582] to each other, having been drawn from a variety of villages in which various
families had exchanged relations. When these women become friendly with each other, they call each other *jao*. Similar friendships are also common between women of adjacent villages even when their husbands are unrelated.

As such relationships are hereditary bilaterally, they may lead to a *namei* or *apa/eambo* relation between the sons of these women in the second generation, thus linking families between which no friendship existed previously. Moreover, if the daughters of the *jao* become separated from each
other after marriage, they often continue their own *jao* relation, and visit
[431] each other's villages. They receive gifts on these visits, though on a more
modest scale than the men do (as far as I could see, only vegetable produce was given). At times, they may stay for a few days before they return. It seems to be the Orokaiva wife's way of having a break from the domestic round.

123 Unfortunately, a male anthropologist cannot plumb the mysteries of this
relationship, as informants refuse to discuss it with any male, including their
572 own husbands. A female anthropologist might find fascinating data; my only significant discovery was that women attach great weight to the institution, that it has secret aspects, and that it definitely binds males of the next generation. Married women certainly feel the lack of co-resident consanguines and the establishment of *jao* visits is clearly a substitute.

628 If two unrelated young women of district A are *jao* and marry in villages
B and C, this leads to inter-village links, not only between A and B, and A
572 and C (links directly resulting from the affinal relationships), but also between B and C since the *jao* continue to visit each other, as do their sons. Hence, the *jao* institution is an important source of friendship linkages.

proceeds as though he wished to prove at all costs the absolute 539
interdependence of husband and wife, the absolute necessity of 824
their symbiosis. So important is this ideological notion of symbiosis that the culture has set up numerous imaginary plant symbioses to emphasize it. There is no time here to analyze several other recorded myths which carry the same message.

We may also say that hierarchy is absent on the level of 431
network structure (in the sense of Sperber, 1968) as there is 824
no problem of allocation and no competitive aspect in obligations relating to the giving of coconut and areca. With the exception of mortuary feasts, the nuts are given away in small quantities, as tokens which are part of ordinary social exchange.
If a visitor is given no coconut on his arrival in a village, this [574]
is rarely because of any absence of coconuts, but mostly because one does not want the visitor to stay, and this unwillingness has nothing to do with the coconut transaction. If there are really no coconuts, this does not affect the relationship. The same applies to areca.

The manner in which coconut and areca are given to guests [576]
confirms and expresses the existing social stratification. The most important guest receives the first coconut. He is also likely to receive a large gift of areca, which he then distributes to his followers. Though Orokaiva society is much less stratified than many other New Guinea societies that have been reported, men differ in influence and only the most influential can hold feasts. The position of the "bigger men," as one may call them, is not validated by any ideology or formally designated position, hereditary or otherwise, as is the case in Polynesia.

2. TARO

The foregoing discussion of coconut and areca has been pre- 824
sented because it provides a particularly clear illustration of 571
the nature of code structures and network structures. I would not, however, classify either the code or the networks arising out of coconut and areca exchanges as hierarchical. If we compare these fruits with taro, the principal staple of the Orokaiva,

824 571 we find that taro resembles them in that taro gifts are ritual statements by which attitudes toward social relations are communicated. We may say, to use Mr. Sperber's terminology again, that in this respect they form a code structure. It will be shown that this code structure is again nonhierarchical, thus resembling coconut and areca. On the other hand, a statistical study of the behavior of exchange partners shows that, on the level of exchange structure, there are rules by which a hierarchy is unconsciously generated between households and between villages. A system which combines a hierarchical network with a nonhierarchical code might be described, in my terms, as political, though incompletely so.

824 [243] [431] Most taro produced by the Orokaiva (over 90% in the villages surveyed) is consumed directly by the producing household. Nonetheless taro is the most ubiquitous of all Orokaiva objects of exchange; most households give some of it away every day. It is also part of the conventional set of gifts that change hands on virtually every ceremonial occasion. The main purpose of such gifts is usually the mediating of social relations rather than the setting up of a claim for a specific return gift. The ritual statements that may be made by means of taro gifts fall into two categories: raw taro, ritually given by men, tends to be part of a ceremony aimed at the establishment or restoration of social relations, whereas gifts of cooked taro, normally made by women, are part of the process of maintaining social relations of a certain degree of intimacy.

824 539 I shall base the following abbreviated analysis of taro symbolism on one myth. Of the several versions collected, I shall quote the fullest one, indicating variants where relevant. The name of the principal hero is usually given as Totoima, though this name does not appear in the version quoted. Williams has some references to the Totoima myth (see 1930:155, 158–159, 276), but these are not very illuminating. The following version was obtained from Samuel Jovareka, born at Kiorota and now a resident of Sivepe village:

> A husband slept with his wife. She became pregnant and gave birth to a small child. The husband came and asked:

it may be given away, complete with tops, by a man to other 824
men. We here see the same contrast which we met before be- 539
tween a metaphoric and a metonymic gift. The feminine gift, in this case, is metaphoric: she gives her own essence, which is taro, to the man. In return she receives meat, the man's essence; but we come to this later. The male gift of taro, raw and complete, is metonymic: he gives some part of his taro nature, conferred upon him by woman, to another man with whom he desires to establish or restore social relations.

The significance of taro, as part of the nature of the human male, is clarified in the myth by the opposition between the male twin and the man from Managalase. The Managalase is a neighboring mountain district where the main crop is yam, not taro, but where a variety of taro (called *pijama*) is also grown. It is not, however, grown in gardens but in small bush clearings. The Managalase magician is therefore in an intermediate position between Totoima and his son: unlike Totoima, he recognizes the technology of domestication of taro, but he recognizes it inadequately, being mainly a hunter. Such, at least, is the view expressed in Orokaiva stories about the Managalase.

Taro, to the Orokaiva, is symbolic of strength; it is pre- [574]
ferred to other staples because it builds stronger men, so it is
believed. Taro is, moreover, the principal bulk gift displayed at [431]
feasts. Certainly, pigs are always given away at feasts, but in small quantities, and the size of the feasts is not principally measured by the amount of pig meat given away. It is by the quantity of taro that changes hands that the size of an Orokaiva feast is measured. A pole is placed in the center of the heap and measured. When taro is received at a return feast, the recipients take it back to their own village and lay it against the same pole. If the quantity is smaller, the other side has lost the competition. The strength of a village is measured by the amount of taro it can produce. The strength of a fighter or hunter is derived not so much from the amount of game he has previously killed; it is derived from the taro he has eaten. It is in this sense that taro, when consumed by man, is stronger than pig, though in the absence of this metabolism, pigs are stronger than taro.

Finally, it is significant that in the fighting between Orokaiva and Managalase, the former were most often the aggressors and the latter were the victims of cannibal raids, of inroads on their hunting territory, and so forth. Thus the Orokaiva regard themselves as stronger than the Managalase (certainly they are more numerous, as their fertile land can support a denser population) and the Orokaiva explain their greater strength by the abundance of their taro supplies. 824 539

While it is clear enough that there are no hierarchical implications in female taro gifts (they symbolize the symbiosis between the sexes), a kind of hierarchical ordering is apparent with regard to male taro gifts, inasmuch as the myth is concerned with a conflict between adjacent generations, where the father seeks to kill and is killed by the son. 824 431

It seems to me, however, that hierarchical ordering of this kind does not fall within Mr. Dumont's definition (1966:92), namely, that hierarchy is "un principe de gradation des éléments d'un ensemble par référence à l'ensemble."[3] This seems to exclude hierarchical ordering within a family, or corporate group, on the mere basis of age and generation. It does not altogether exclude the kind of stratification suggested in the myth as between hunters and gatherers (lowest tier), hunters and bush-clearing cultivators (middle tier), and garden cultivators (highest tier). Within the framework of Orokaiva society this is not a hierarchical relation between population groups but an evolutionary sequence with little reference to actual social relations. When the Orokaiva postulate some superiority over Managalase, this is no more than tribal rhetoric on their part. Nonetheless, on the level of rhetoric, we find hierarchical ordering of tribes according to their cultivation practices.

Taro, moreover, gives rise to hierarchy on the level of network structures. Taro has a special position in the Orokaiva exchange system in that it symbolizes commensality. Though, in terms of the myth, it is only a gift made by a woman to her husband, in practice cooked taro is given also to those households which a woman wishes to honor with a kind of pseudo-commensality. The taro is taken to the home of the recipient,

either by the housewife who has cooked it or by one of her 824
children. The quantity is usually about two kilograms, which 431
constitutes a very hearty meal for one person. Thus taro gifts become, for the anthropologist, an almost infallible index of intimacy: once two persons have established a certain degree of intimacy, taro exchanges invariably follow. The same cannot be said for any other object of mediation, not even pig meat (which is exchanged only in specific circumstances) or coconut and areca (which may be given to very casual acquaintances). The exchange network of cooked taro therefore coincides with the network of intimate association.

I have made a somewhat detailed, statistically oriented study 824
of taro-exchange networks which, for lack of time, cannot be 431
reported here. During twenty-eight days, between 31 January
and 10 March 1967, I recorded taro gifts made by all house- 571
holds of Sivepe village. The number of gifts made and received 621
averaged 2.5 daily per household, ranging from a minimum average of 1.3 to a maximum average of 4.1. At the same time notes were kept of social relations between the households involved: work relations, common journeys, different types of visits between households, conversational groups in various parts of the village. The social interaction records were compared with statistics showing the households to which each household had given taro during the period, and the frequency of those gifts. There was a close correspondence between frequency of taro gifts and intimacy of social relations. There were also a set of types of formal occasions when such gifts were thought especially appropriate, e.g., when the recipient household was entertaining outsiders, had a new baby, a death, had performed some specific service; or if the recipient was old, incapacitated, ill. Nobody made taro gifts to everyone in the village: in the twenty-eight days for which I kept tally, the number of such partnerships varied from three to fourteen out of twenty-two households surveyed, with an average of 8.5.

The taro-exchange partners were always the persons on whom one was most dependent in sentiment, in economic tasks, in political support. They would tend to take one's side in intravillage disputes. Taro gifts thus were a ritual statement in which one household would express its desire for close association with another. 824 I inquired to what extent the gifts were balanced. 431 I found, as Sahlins already suggested in 1965, that little importance is attached to precise balance in food gifts. 571 In more than half the households the total imbalance exceeded the proportion 60:40. 621 On the other hand, I also found that extreme imbalance usually has a special explanation, often old age, or special burdens which might be only temporary. Informants, when asked, deny there is any obligation to make return gifts. Yet the statistics show a strong tendency toward the sending of taro gifts on the same day or the day after one has received them. The recipient will explain that he is under no obligation but likes to reciprocate.

Certainly this attitude is in accordance with the explanation I have given of this custom. The return gift should not be considered principally as an obligation but as a ritual statement reciprocating the desire to maintain a close association. Here the question of the frequency of the gifts is closely connected with the question of how intimate each side wants the association to be. An increase in the frequency of the gifts means a desire for a more intimate association. If the recipient wishes to keep the association within certain limits, he may be slow in making a return gift. Unbalanced exchange occurred, for instance, with migrants from a neighboring village (Garombi) who gave more than they received and seemed to be constantly trying to build up new alliances. They were welcomed more warmly by some old residents than by others. If recipients, though fully capable of making equally frequent return gifts, reciprocate halfheartedly, the donor household tends to reduce the gifts to the level acceptable to its partner.

There are, therefore, limits which households set for the extensiveness of their taro-exchange network. These limits are determined less by economic considerations than by sociopolitical ones. There is a limit to the number of intimate social relationships that any individual can maintain. A choice exists, within any culture, between allocating relatively little time to a relatively large number of associates or maintaining a small number of privileged associates with whom contact is very fre-

quent indeed, while spending relatively less time with the rest. 824
Inevitably a gradation of associations thus develops. This grada- 431
tion of associations, among the Orokaiva, is expressed by the
ritual statement of taro gifts, made with varying frequency. We 571
thus find that the first (i.e., most frequent) partner is involved 621
in an average of 38% of all taro transactions, the second partner in 24%, the third partner in 12%. The first and second partners are in a clearly privileged position.

A second way of describing the pattern of intimacy would be to assume that there is some community norm whereby a certain degree of intimacy is expressed by a specific frequency of gifts. My impression, supported by the statistical facts and some generalizations offered by informants, is that each household has a few preferential partners to whom they give or from whom they receive taro at least twice a week, but often far more frequently. In this sense every household in my sample has at least two preferential partnerships. Nine out of twenty-two had a third, two had a fourth, while the leader of the Seho clan had five.

Topographically it is a general rule that neighboring house-
holds form preferential partnerships. As the two clans live in [616]
rows on opposite sides of the village, linkages across the village
square (*araha*) were thus comparatively sparser than linkages [614]
on each side, though some interclan linkages were effected through the households living along the short ends of the quadrangle, these being only weakly linked to either clan but, in a social sense, intermediate between the two.

Two types of hierarchical ordering should be distinguished 824
in this model. The first is the ordering within each clan, where
some people are intimate with the sociometric star whereas 571
others are connected with him through being intimate with an 431
intimate. The second type of ordering is close to what graph theorists call a Hamilton circuit (Harari and Ross, 1954; Flament, 1968) and would be consistent with an almost total absence of stratification. For the purpose of a particular transaction with someone outside or inside the village, one often needs the cooperation of a person with whom one is not intimate. This fact is expressed in the model by the size of the total circle and

the need for several intermediary links to pass from one point 824
to some other points.

The Orokaiva are wary of relations with persons with whom 571
they are not intimate. They do not like to make even simple 431
requests of such persons but prefer to make the request through intermediaries who are intimate with both sides. In that case it is possible, if the request cannot be met, for both sides to pretend that it was never made. No hard words are spoken, nobody is overtly humiliated. There is a customary blank, expressionless style which is used by intermediaries for the transmitting of requests—symbolic gestures of neutrality. The mediator avoids the risk of endangering his own alliance while still making what effort he can to satisfy the party seeking the benefit. If he is successful, the beneficiary is to some extent indebted to him.

This tendency to work through intimates sets up hierarchies in which almost anyone may at some time or other be the star figure. The total network available to an individual through such hierarchies is rather large, as the twenty-two households in my sample, for instance, have easy access to a total of seventy-five villages. Under the ecological conditions of the Orokaiva, no principle of kinship solidarity alone would provide a network of that size.

The basic ritual statement by which the presence of such intimate links is demonstrated is the feminine taro gift. Cooked taro, therefore, mediates not only the exchange of intimate attachment, but also the exchange of access to *alter*'s private network of alliances. The hierarchy of the taro network is based on the intimacy existing between any two consecutive links in the chain. The structure is hierarchical in that at the one end there is a household requiring a benefit, at the other end there is a person able to give that benefit, while the intermediate links are all necessary for the access to that person.

These hierarchies are more complex structures than those arising in the coconut-areca network. The system not only has the "circuit pattern" described above but also is capable of generating at all times new hierarchies linking persons who were not previously linked at all. Whereas the coconut-areca network

corresponded to restricted exchange, the taro network corre- 824
sponds to a complex system of generalized exchange. We find 571
both these types of pattern in the Orokaiva marriage system;
we find them again in the exchange of objects other than women. 431

To a large extent, these hierarchies are formed by free choice. Both sides are able to regulate the degree of intimacy by speeding up or slowing down the rate of taro gifts. While thus the taro network offers a good deal of opportunity for subtle *political* manipulation, one crucial criterion is missing from the taro network that is required in a political *system:* conflict is never expressed in terms of taro, except in one case, to which I shall refer below. The fact of not receiving a gift of cooked taro is never, by itself, a *casus belli,* but only a sign of coolness. It may signify no more than a development in a relationship from intimacy to mere amity. It is unlikely to cause anger, unless there are other sources of conflict at the same time.

Male taro gifts, occurring in the context of a feast, should according to the rules not be competitive in quantity. A visiting village expects to receive in return no more and no less than what it has given. If the other side gives more than it has received, this is regarded as an act of hostility. One cannot compare such an act to the potlatch behavior of the Indians or Polynesians, because it is a violation of the Orokaiva rules—a provocation that frequently ends in actual war. On the level of ideology, it is still valid to say that taro gifts can be used, as ritual statements, only to express pseudo-commensality, intimacy, and affection. A quite different rule says that any excessive return gift (whether of taro or something else) serves to express hostility. I shall return to this point elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1974).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this essay will have been achieved if I have been 121
able to show how objects, in such societies as the Orokaiva 824
one, are "total phenomena," or, perhaps more accurately, multi- 431
valent phenomena. Certainly one understands little of the Orokaiva way of life if one does not perceive that a taro, for

instance, is not just a food, or an economic value, but also a 121
kinsman, also a form of power, also a sacrament. 824

In a more theoretical vein, we may regard this essay as a corroboration of two remarkable essays by Marshall Sahlins 431 (1968, 1970) in which he elucidated the philosophy of Marcel Mauss and the Maori concept of *hau*. With some modifications, required to fit Orokaiva rather than Maori thought, we can say that a gift object such as a taro has a certain potency which enables it to perform an otherwise impossible act, such as convert an enemy into a friend. During the first stage of the transaction, when the taro, identified with the *vegetable* form of Totoima, is offered up to the marauder (= enemy, guest), the host, likewise identified with the taro, parts with it irrevocably. It is then snatched by the guest, who eats it and thus enters into communion with the host, now identified with Totoima. The force that compels the making of a return gift becomes effective by the act of communion. As Sahlins rightly argued, the transaction becomes meaningful only if it is considered within the context of the state of war which, in the absence of this sacrament, would prevail between the partners.

A question of some difficulty is the relation between the 121 Totoima myth and the taro, coconut and areca rituals. I have proceeded in this essay without distinguishing what is conventionally known as mythology from what is conventionally known as ritual. Thus a key element in the *mythological* analysis was the fact that there are ritual ways of giving away raw and cooked taro. In this respect I followed a distinction which was recently (1971:598) proposed by Lévi-Strauss, namely, between "explicit" and "implicit" mythology. He argues that many mythical representations exist only in the state of notes, sketches, or fragments scattered in glosses and exegeses which appear in the context of ritual. He describes such representations, in other words, the cognitive aspect of ritual, as "implicit mythology."

Lévi-Strauss would thus restrict rather narrowly the scope of the ritual level to what would appear to be systems of paralinguistic signs in a sacred (or at least the opposite of everyday) context. By imposing this restriction, Lévi-Strauss pointed at a weakness in much writing about ritual (including the present

26: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

NOTES

101 114 1. The classic works on the Orokaiva are Williams (1928, 1930). Useful studies in Orokaiva swidden agriculture are Crocombe and Hogbin (1963), Rimoldi (1966), Krinks and Waddell (1968). For my own studies on Orokaiva culture, see Schwimmer (1967, 1969, 1972, 1974, and n.d.).

114 128 2. Most of the present study was done in Paris in 1970 and distributed in mimeographed form by the Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale under the title "The Ideology of Exchange." I should like to express my gratitude to Professor Lévi-Strauss, Drs. Godelier and Pouillon, and the other members of the staff for their hospitality and encouragement. My wife, Mrs. Ziska Schwimmer, worked with me in the field on the collection of data and later with their analysis.

824 431 3. "A principle of gradation by which elements are related to the whole of which they form part."

121 4. Professor Lévi-Strauss suggested to me a most interesting relationship between this myth and the Polynesian Maui cycle. Maui was killed by a "Woman of Darkness," Maori: Hinenuiotepo.

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